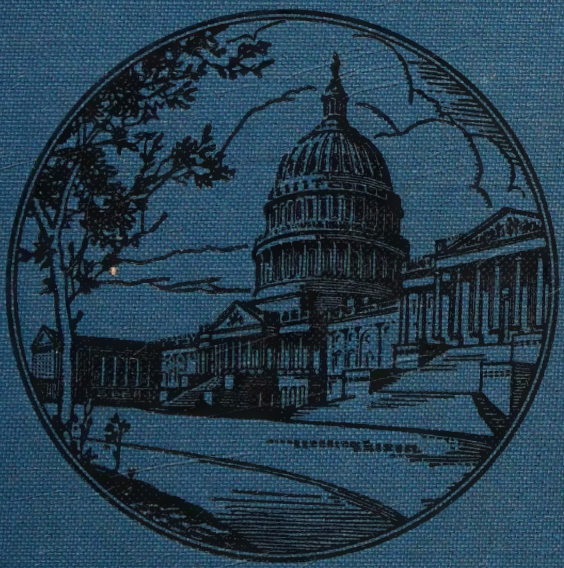
CITIZENSHIP READERS



AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

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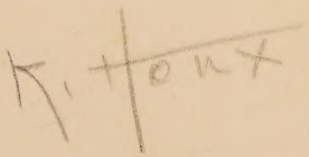

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The National Capitol

CITIZENSHIP READERS

BY

EDWIN DuBOIS SHURTER, BENJAMIN DAVID SCOTT,
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AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

By
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J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
CHICAGO PHILADELPHIA

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors and publishers wish to make grateful acknowledgment to the following for the use of copyrighted material: The Century Company and Miss Parmenter for "America to England" by Catherine Parmenter; Houghton Mifflin Company for "Liberty Enlightening the World" by Edmund Clarence Stedman and "Ode for the Fourth of July, 1876" by James Russell Lowell; *The Constitutional Review* for "The Constitution Speaks" by Robert B. Tunstall; *Boy's Life* and Mr. Beard for "What Americanism Means" by Daniel C. Beard; Edgar A. Guest for "We Who Are Americans"; the *Los Angeles Times* for "The Enduring House"; Mrs. Hopkins for "Guard the Constitution" by Archibald Hopkins; Frederic J. Haskin for "Your Uncle Sam"; *The Outlook* for "School Activities and Public Service" by William McAndrew; *Citizenship Through Character Development* for "A Meeting of the Civic Betterment Club" by Mary F. McMorrow; William S. Hart for "The American Indian and American Citizenship"; the Methodist Book Concern and Mrs. Wing for "Carrying a Message from Grant to Lincoln" by Henry E. Wing; the *New York Times* and Mr. Williams for "The Eaglet's Fatal Flight" by Wythe Williams; *The Youth's Companion* and Mr. Palmer for "The Man Who Loved Work" by Loren Palmer; William Tyler Page for "The American's Creed"; the *Detroit News* for "Don't Die on Third"; Elias Lieberman for "I Am an American"; The Consolidated Gas Company of New York for "Unknown" by Bruce Barton; *The Kiwanis Magazine* for "The Undertow in American Education" by W. P. Dearing; and *The Saturday Evening Post* for "Emerson Hough, American."

PRINTED IN U.S.A

PREFACE

During the past decade renewed emphasis has been placed upon the idea—as old as our Government itself—that the primary objective of American schools must be training for citizenship. While such training should be related to all branches of study, certainly the best opportunity for lessons in citizenship is found in the content of our school readers.

To subserve such a purpose has been the aim of the authors in the preparation of this series of Citizenship Readers. While not neglecting literary standards or the element of story-interest, the aim has been to feature selections that contain lessons comprehended under the various aspects of the term, "citizenship."

The authors believe that citizenship lessons should be stressed in our readers from the lowest to the highest grades; that while such lessons can best be taught inductively rather than didactically, they should by all means be taught; that young America's school readers should above all teach the meaning of American citizenship, and thereby incite the pupils to become good citizens.

This book, the last of the series, follows the general plan of the preceding books by having the stories revolve about a central idea. The selections herein relate primarily to the sources and principles of our Government, and the resulting privileges and obligations of American citizenship.

For the purposes of unity and sequence, the selections are grouped under a three-fold classification. Aside from the use of this book as a basic reader *per se*, Parts I and II furnish a text that fulfills both the letter and the spirit of the state laws requiring the teaching of the Constitution and Citizenship; Part III supplies the constant demand for new declamations, and is adapted for use as a supplementary text in Oral English or Public Speaking.

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PART ONE

OUR GOVERNMENT ITS SOURCES NATURE AND SPIRIT

FIRST MEETING OF THE CLASS IN CIVICS

The civics class of the Roosevelt Junior High School had met for its first recitation period. After an exchange of greetings following the summer vacation, the teacher, Mr. Boynton, addressed the class as follows:

IN TAKING up our class work, I suppose you are asking yourselves some such questions as these: "What are we to study in this course? Is it an interesting study? What good will it do me to study it?"

Well, those are all very proper questions, for you are surely old enough to be thinking about the subjects the faculty prescribes for you. Let me try briefly to answer these questions. Fuller answers will of course be forthcoming as the class work proceeds.

What, then, is civics? You have already learned in the lower grades that it refers to our government and our relations to it and to each other. It teaches why we need a government, what kind of a government we have, how it works, and the things we need to do to keep it running smoothly. It shows what our behavior should be in a civilized society.

I spoke of our faculty as prescribing this subject in your course of study, but the members of the faculty did this for at least one very good reason: they couldn't help themselves! Your state itself has prescribed this course—although it may not be given under the name of civics. We have a state law requiring "the teaching of the Constitution and Citizenship in all schools supported by the public funds."

And why? Because that is what our public school system is for—to make good citizens. Were this not the primary purpose, how could the state tax your parents for the support of the schools? Sometimes we teachers forget this fact. The state law I mentioned shows that our people are realizing, as never before,

the importance of having the schools train students for citizenship. It is a movement which a distinguished American educator, William McAndrew, calls "the belated revolution in our public schools." I can stress its importance in no better way than by reading you some extracts from a little book entitled *Young America,* by Hermann Hagedorn. Here is what Mr. Hagedorn says, and you will see that he is addressing you directly. The subject of the chapter from which I shall read is:

SCHOOLING IN CITIZENSHIP FOR YOUNG AMERICA

"Young America, if you had a phonograph factory that demanded skilled labor, and you found you could get nothing but greenhorns to work for you, what would you do? Would you gather the greenhorns together in your office and invite Caruso to address them on the Educational Value of the Phonograph and some one else to lecture on the History of Voice-Recording Instruments, and another pompous gentleman to say a few words about the Dignity of Labor? Not a bit of it! You and your foreman would take those greenhorns each to a machine and you'd explain the machine; you'd tell him what it was supposed to do and how it was supposed to do it. And you wouldn't leave that machine at the mercy of that greenhorn until you were sure that he knew how to handle it.

"The government of the United States is a great factory. It is a factory for the manufacture of prosperity, happiness, and spiritual well-being. But we do not handle it as you or any other sensible man would handle a factory. In the first place, we do not, as a rule, select our foremen because they know the particular job we wish them to handle better than anyone else knows it, but because they are good mixers, good trimmers, and have fewer enemies than the other man. Coldly analyzed, that does not seem a very brilliant thing to do; in fact, it rather seems the sort of antic the Mad Hatter might have proposed to Alice in Wonderland if they had decided to depose the blood-thirsty

Queen and set up a government of their own. But it isn't any sillier than the attitude of your elders, young America, toward the men who keep the wheels of the factory moving—the citizens. As youths they are all greenhorns; and the sad thing is, that as far as citizenship goes, most of them stay greenhorns all their lives. Every American boy and girl becomes a hand in the great Factory of Public Welfare we call the United States. You'd think your elders would tell you something beforehand about the machinery in general, wouldn't you? You'd think they'd prepare you a bit to be a good mechanic when your time came. The machinery is so fine and delicate you'd think the directors would insist on reducing to a minimum the risk of smashing it up.

"But they don't.

"Directors are funny things, as you know. These directors go from school to school, and instead of scolding the schoolteachers for failing to give you training in government-mechanics, they pat you on the back, Young America, and tell you to be good factory hands, nice factory hands, loyal factory hands; and that the Factory is the grandest factory in the world, and you ought to be glad that you belong to that particular factory, because it is a free factory, where everyone can do exactly as he pleases. The directors say a great many uplifting things, but do they take you to the machine and explain it to you, and stand over you until you know what makes it go?

"Oh, no! Nothing like that!

"They tell you that you are the greatest little mechanic in the world and then leave you to wreck the machine as thoroughly as your native common sense will permit. As for freedom—for the ignorant and the untrained there is no such thing as freedom. The ignorant and the untrained are slaves to their own inefficiency. Those only are free who know."

Now, in order really to understand this government under which we are living, you must first study its beginnings. You

must see its background. You must learn how it started and who started it. You will find that, while America is today made up of various races, our form of government was established by the Anglo-Saxons.

So our first subject of study will be the Anglo-Saxon race. This is the assignment for discussion at our next class meeting. I want each of you to read and report upon at least one article or book dealing with the Anglo-Saxon race, with particular reference to government. Here is a list of references on the blackboard. I feel sure that you will be interested in learning what the history and government of this race have to do with American government.

Questions and Activities

1. Why must American schools train students for citizenship?
2. Are school boys and girls full-fledged American citizens? See Article XIV, Section 1, of the Constitution.
3. What does Mr. Hagedorn mean by saying, "Those only are free who know"?
4. In what ways can you learn to be a good citizen while attending school?

THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE

Whence came the government under which we live? Keep this question in mind as you read this and several stories that follow.

ABOUT fourteen hundred years ago a monk named Gregory was walking along the quay at Marseilles, France. Presently he noticed a group of boys who had been captured by Danish pirates and offered for sale as slaves. He marveled at their white skin, their beautiful features, their soft, fine hair, their blue eyes, and asked whence they came.

"From Britain," was the answer. "There the people are all fair, like these boys. They are called *Angles*."

"They should be called *Angels*, not *Angles*," said Gregory, "for they have angelic faces."

Those captive boys, whose ancestors had emigrated to England from the valleys of the Elbe and the Weser in northern Germany, belonged to the race that has been largely responsible for our American form of government. It is important, therefore, if we are fully to understand the nature of the government under which we live, that we know something about this race, and why and how it created our American Republic; why its descendants came to these shores; how they brought with them the principles of English liberty; how they developed these principles in this new land of freedom, and how they finally embodied them in our fundamental law, the Constitution of the United States. We shall then realize that the blessings of the free government we enjoy today were not created all at once, but have grown from the seeds of liberty which good and noble men planted during centuries past. Well has it been said that the story of the American Constitution is the story of the Anglo-Saxon race.

We get our first glimpses of this race in the forests of northern

Germany, after Julius Caesar with his Roman legions had conquered Gaul, or France. The people of this race were tall, large-boned blondes, with the other physical characteristics mentioned above as belonging to the captive boys. They lived by hunting and tilling the soil. Members of a community used a common pasture for their stock. They built their homes of logs in villages surrounded by a palisade. They had their own crude form of self-government. Their chiefs were elective and not hereditary. Everyone had a share in the government—a condition very different from other peoples of the world at that time. There were many different tribes, and they frequently warred among themselves, but they would unite in resisting a common enemy. Rome tried to conquer them but never succeeded. Early in the first century of the Christian era, under their leader, Arminius, during a three days' battle in the Teutoborg Forest, they completely annihilated three Roman legions under the command of Varus—a disaster that brought forth from the Emperor Augustus the plaintive cry, "Varus, Varus! Give me back my legions!" These Teutonic tribesmen were barbarians, judged by the standards of civilization today, but they enjoyed one privilege that was unusual in that period of the world's history: *they were free men.*

Let us now follow them for a brief period to the soil of England.

In the year 449, after Rome, on account of the pressing need for soldiers at home, had vacated England, the Germanic tribes from the continent of Europe began to invade the country. Various groups of them were known as Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. Collectively they came to be called Anglo-Saxons. They gradually either exterminated the native Britons, or Celts, or drove them into Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The Saxons were mainly home-builders and farmers, and through all the later history of England this element has been the staying power of her citizenship. The Saxon loved his home. He tended to root himself in the soil that he tilled. He insisted on managing the affairs of his own household and village without interference by an over-lord or king.

He desired peaceful pursuits, and engaged in war only when forced to do so in self-defense. It was such qualities as these, in the Anglo-Saxons who formed a large part of the population of the American colonies, that largely determined the nature of our own Government.

The exercise of individual freedom and local self-government, which the Germanic tribes brought from the mainland of Europe, was continued in England, with only occasional interruptions, until the thirteenth century. Of course, the measure of liberty possessed by these Anglo-Saxons came far short of what we in America have always enjoyed, but it was unusual for their day and time. In 815 all the tribes, consisting of seven Germanic kingdoms, were united in a single government under Egbert, the Saxon king of Wessex. As a result of this union, known as the Saxon Heptarchy, there was developed a considerable degree of constitutional government; that is, an organized body of men governed by a common fundamental law. A large amount of power was possessed by the local assemblies, or *Folk-moots*. The people living within a certain stretch of country made up the *hundred*, as it was called, whose members met from time to time to decide upon matters of common interest. Just as a group of townships made up the *hundred*, so a group of hundreds made up the *shire*, the later *county*. The *shire-reeve* or *sheriff* was the representative of the king's power and interests, while the administrative head of the shire, the ealdorman, later called the *earl*, was the representative of local independence and self-government.

At the head of the whole system of government was the king, although ordinarily he took no important political action without consulting the *witan*. This consisted of the great men of the country—the prelates, ealdormen, members of the royal family, and various royal officials. This gathering was called the *Witenagemot*. And here we should note a marked difference between the Anglo-Saxon king and the despotic rulers in all other countries at that time. The *witan* served as a check on the absolute power

of the king. The doctrine of "divine right" to rule was not accepted by the Anglo-Saxons. The Saxon king must rule within the law of his realm. The Witenagemot established in crude form our modern jury system. No man could be deprived of his property except by lawful judgment. No man could be punished for wrongdoing without a legal trial.

These guaranties of personal and property rights had no parallel among other governments of that time. On the continent of Europe the king had absolute power. He could kill or imprison his subjects or deprive them of their property without even the form of a legal trial. The principle of "a government of laws and not of men" is distinctively of Anglo-Saxon origin, and excepting intervals when over-ridden by despotic kings, this principle has always been adhered to in English government.

In the year 1066 came William the Conqueror, and the Battle of Hastings marked the beginning of the Norman conquest of England. The Normans were sea-rovers and originally Scandinavian pirates, and they brought with them the ruthless, cruel, and despotic methods that then obtained on the mainland of Europe. For a time the Saxons were trodden under foot and deprived of their lands and of any part in the government. This condition, however, did not last very long. Very soon the Norman nobles began to join hands with the Saxons in resisting the despotic power of the king. Gradually the old Saxon customs and laws were revived. Gradually the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans amalgamated, so that on the memorable day in June, 1215, when the cruel and despotic King John was at Runnymede forced to sign the *Magna Charta*, the Great Charter of English liberty, he was faced by combined Saxon and Norman forces.

This infusion of the Normans with the Anglo-Saxons had one important effect which is of great interest to Americans. It produced a colonizing race. Although the Normans were only a relatively small part of the population of England, they were the governing class for some three hundred years. They were ad-

demanded from the King the restoration of the old laws of the country. John refused it. The barons then resolved to take up arms against him. They gathered their forces and finally proceeded to London where the citizens opened to them the gates of the city. Upon hearing of this, and finding himself deserted by practically all his subjects, the King yielded and entered into negotiations for terms of peace. Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had drawn up for the barons a charter containing sixty-three articles which pledged the King to stop his abuses and to grant the people the liberties they had formerly enjoyed. A conference was held at Runnymede, and after several days' debate John was forced to sign the charter, although he had no intention of observing its provisions.

The barons very wisely appointed a committee of twenty-five to see that the unwilling and crafty King carried out his promises. They also took the precaution of making several copies of the document, and there are in existence today four sealed and several unsealed copies of the Magna Charta. Of the sealed copies, two are in the British Museum. The one belonging to Lincoln Cathedral is considered the most perfect, and is in the best state of preservation.

The Charter states in unmistakable language how King John must mend his ways, and it records the elements of Anglo-Saxon liberty which are our heritage. Its main provisions are: "No freeman shall be seized or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or banished or in any way injured, nor will we attack him nor send against him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." "To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay right or justice." No one is to be convicted of wrongdoing on rumors or suspicion, but only on the evidence of witnesses. The fines imposed are in all cases to be proportioned to the magnitude of the offense. And even the villein, or small farmer, is to be protected against the seizure of his necessary tools with which to work.

The Magna Charta is about the only light that shines out of a dark and troubled age. At that time all peoples were crushed under the rule of cruel and despotic power, with scarcely a human right and with no means of redress. Our ancestors compelled the sovereign to give up his absolute power and to treat his subjects as human beings having certain individual rights which he must respect. They set down these rights in black and white, so that no one could afterwards deny them. While the Magna Charta did not provide for the full measure of English liberty as we know it today, it has always been considered as a landmark in constitutional freedom. Its leading provisions recur again and again in the later history of England, and are embodied in the Federal and state constitutions of America. A distinguished American jurist says:

"As an unborn forest sleeps unconsciously in an acorn cup, so modern civilization lay enfolded in the guaranty of personal liberty and of the supremacy of the law that was secured at Runnymede. Our Declaration of Independence is but the Magna Charta writ large, and expanded to meet the wants of a new generation of freemen, fighting the battle of life beneath other skies. The words in that Charter of Liberty still ring out in our American Constitution like that of the trampling of armed men, marching confidently up to battle—words which for ages have stayed the hand of tyranny, which have extended their protection over the infant sleeping in the cradle, over the lonely, the desolate, the sorrowful, and the oppressed."

It seems strange to us now that those Englishmen had to struggle so hard to secure the rights which the Great Charter guaranteed. But that was over seven hundred years ago, and the people were then oppressed much more than they now are, and much more than was ever the case in America. It is well to bear in mind, however, that freedom from oppression in America is traceable in no small measure to the Magna Charta. The Englishmen who fought for this Charter of Liberties were fighting for us as well as

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT AND THE PURITAN THEOCRACY

DOUBTLESS you have read or heard of the Pony Express, a mail and messenger service, organized when there was no transcontinental railroad, to furnish communication between the middle-west and the Pacific coast.

Three hundred years before these daring riders of the Pony Express rode their fleet ponies over the western deserts and through the mountain passes, and before any such thing as a railroad was dreamed of, a system similar to the Pony Express was in operation in Great Britain. Royal messengers rode every day over the four main highways radiating from London, bearing the king's orders in their saddlebags and carrying on their lips the news of London town. Like the Pony Express riders of the west in 1860, these messengers rode on horseback from one post-house to another, changing horses at each stop. In the summer they must travel seven miles an hour; in winter they were not expected to do more than five miles an hour because of the snow and mud.

One of the best post-houses in all England at that time was at Scrooby, about one hundred and fifty miles north of London. It consisted of a roomy, comfortable Manor House, surrounded by a moat, with a commodious barn near by for the horses and other stock. The owner of this property, William Brewster, was made Postmaster at Scrooby in the year 1590. Both his father and his grandfather had served in the same capacity. He was only twenty-three years old when appointed. Three years later, one evening in April, he heard Queen Elizabeth's messenger blowing his horn as he approached Scrooby Manor. Brewster had the drawbridge lowered, the heavy oak door was opened, and the messenger rode into the court. Brewster met him at the top of the stone steps of the Manor House and entered in the Post Book the

time of arrival. As the messenger sat eating his supper that night, he told the Master of the Post all the news from London. One of the most startling items was the report that two men, Barrowe and Greenwood, had been executed at Tyburn because they had published pamphlets that advocated greater religious freedom and that were in opposition to the established Church.

After the messenger had departed, William Brewster was left to sad and serious reflection, for the news of these men who had suffered death for conscience' sake filled him with dismay and righteous indignation. He thought of his own religious convictions and of how closely they coincided with those of Barrowe, whom he had known as a fellow-student at Cambridge thirteen years previously. Brewster remembered him well, and also another student, John Robinson (later to become pastor of the Pilgrims' Church at Leyden, Holland), who shared with him and Barrowe liberal views on religious questions, views quite at variance with the prevailing dogmas and church government at that time. If holding these views, he asked himself, is considered sufficient cause for capital punishment, does not this condition itself prove that the Church needs reforming?

Brewster recalled various efforts at reformation that had been made. As a result of the Protestant Reformation, King Henry VIII had substituted the English or Established Church for the rule of the Catholic Church. The law required that all the people should adhere to the Established Church, else they were liable to fine or imprisonment or other punishment. But there had grown up a large body of reformers who thought that the forms and rituals of the state church should be changed. These reformers were known as Non-Conformists or Puritans. A radical group of these Non-Conformists claimed the right to devise their own forms of worship and to be entirely independent of the Established Church. They were known as Independents or Separatists, and later as Congregationalists or Pilgrims. The Puritans wanted to reform the Established Church, but to remain as members of it;

the Pilgrims wanted to establish an entirely separate church. The Puritans were ridiculed by the people generally, while the Pilgrims were persecuted.

A large congregation of these Pilgrims had been gathered at Gainsborough, twelve miles from Scrooby, and William Brewster had been attending their meetings each Sunday for some time. John Smyth was the preacher at these meetings, and he was doing the very thing for which Barrowe and Greenwood had been killed: he wrote books to defend the liberty to worship God in gatherings separate from the Established Church.

All these things William Brewster pondered over prayerfully, after the Queen's messenger had left such direful news. Time passed. He continued to attend the Sunday meeting at Gainsborough. A neighbor's boy named William Bradford came to join him, and both of them became much interested in the religion of the Pilgrims, with its freedom from all form and ceremony. Soon so many people from the surrounding country came to attend the meetings that those in and near Scrooby decided to form a little church of their own, and Brewster offered them his home as the meeting place. His old college friend, John Robinson, came to act as assistant pastor. He had already been imprisoned for gathering people in worship and for declaring their right to meet and worship as they desired.

Brewster well knew the risk he was running in allowing the Pilgrims to hold church at the Manor House. Part of the time they held the meetings in the stable. At other times, when warned that the Queen's officers were planning to arrest them the next Sunday, they met secretly in some other near-by village. But in one place and another they kept on with their meetings and their chosen form of worship. However, it soon became apparent to Brewster and Robinson and the other leaders that they could not remain in England in peace and security. How they were hunted and persecuted on every side was later told by William Bradford in his *History of the Plymouth Plantation*. "Some were put in

prison, others had their houses watched day and night, and the most of them were fain to flee and leave their houses and habitations and the means of their livelihood and to go into a country they knew not but by hearsay, where they must learn a new language and get their living they knew not how . . . It was thought by many an adventure almost desperate."

Finally they decided to emigrate to Holland, the only country in Europe at that time where religious differences were tolerated. After many discouragements and much suffering, they eventually reached Leyden. Here a church was established with John Robinson as pastor and William Brewster as ruling Elder, and for eleven years the Pilgrims, along with many other refugees who joined them from time to time, toiled in this foreign land without being able to make more than a bare living. The outlook for themselves and their children was so discouraging that plans were made to emigrate to the new land of America, where they would be absolutely free to order their lives as they chose, and have for neighbors other colonists from the homeland. The Puritans were now in control of the London Company, and from them the Pilgrims in Holland obtained concessions and a grant of land in the northern part of Virginia. They arranged with a group of London merchants the financing of their voyage, and after many discouragements they set sail in the *Mayflower* from Southampton on September 6, 1620, and landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on December 22nd. Having landed far north of their original objective, their rights to the Plymouth territory being uncertain and with no definite authority in matters of government, they mutually agreed, at a meeting held in the cabin of the *Mayflower* before disembarking, to abide by the following Compact, which was drawn up and signed by forty-one adult male members of the company:

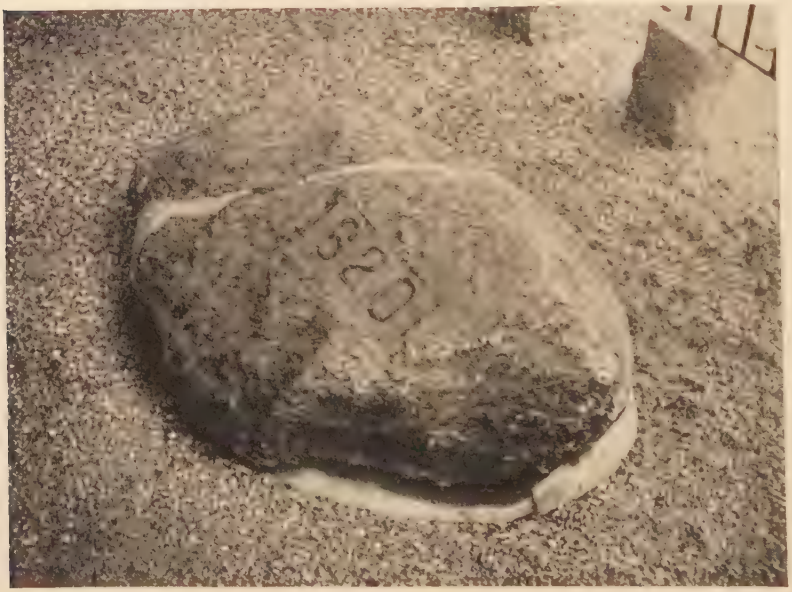
> In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten . . . having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to

> plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

This Compact, as you will see, did not provide a form of government, but only pledged its signers to obey the government that they might subsequently establish. Its importance lies in the fact that it represents the first instance of complete self-government in our history, the first experiment in democracy, pure and simple, on American soil. The Pilgrims were simply farmers and artisans who were seeking freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and to live their lives and rear their children without interference by a king or noble or other dictator. They "founded and maintained a State without a king or noble, and a Church without a bishop or priest."

The government that was established in pursuance of the Mayflower Compact had many interesting features. It was primarily a government by the Church, the meeting-house being the community center. The Pilgrims' Supreme Ruler and Lawgiver was God, and God alone. Attendance upon church was compulsory. A strict observance of the Lord's Day was required. Work ceased at three o'clock Saturday afternoon, and Saturday evening was spent at home in catechising the children and "in preparation for the Sabbath as the minister shall direct." Punishment was inflicted for breaking the Sabbath in any way. We read of one Plymouth man being put in the stocks for going to his tar pits on Sunday. Another received the same punishment for "driving his cows without need" on Sunday. One Aquila Chase and his wife were fined for "gathering peas from their garden on the Sabbath." William Ester was fined ten shillings for "racking hay on the Lord's

Day"; a Wortham man, five shillings "for a breach of the Sabbath in pulling apples." Another instance was that of a Dunstable soldier who was fined four shillings "for wetting a piece of an old hat on the Sabbath to put in his shoe" to protect his foot.



THE HISTORIC PLYMOUTH ROCK, WHERE THE PILGRIMS FIRST LANDED IN THIS COUNTRY

In every community a "tithing-man" exercised general oversight of a group of ten families. It was his duty "to diligently inspect them that they regularly come to meeting on the Sabbath." But his duty did not end there. He saw that the children were quiet and orderly during the meeting, and that all his charges were duly attentive to the church service. If any of them became drowsy and lulled to slumber, the tithe-man roused the offending sleeper by

passing over his face a fox-tail wand. This tithe-man also saw to teaching the children the catechism. Another of his duties was to make complaint of all idle persons, "profane swearers," and Sabbath breakers. When found incorrigible, these persons were put into the stocks which stood on the meeting-house green.

The following incident connected with a particular tithing-man is recorded in the diary of one Obadiah Turner under date of June 3, 1646.

"Allen Brydges hath been chosen to wake the sleepers in meeting, and being much proud of his place, must needs have a fox tail fixed to the end of a long staff wherewith he may brush the faces of them that will have naps in times of discourse; likewise a sharp thorn wherewith he may prick such as be most sound. On the last Lord's Day, as he strutted about the meeting-house, he did spy Mr. Tomkins sleeping with much comfort, his head kept steady by being in the corner, and his hand grasping the rail. And so spying, Allen did quickly thrust his staff behind Dame Ballard, to give him a grievous prick on the hand. Whereupon Mr. Tomkins did spring up much above the floor, and with terrible force strike his hand against the wall, and also, to the great wonder of all, exclaim in a loud voice, 'Curse the woodchuck!' he dreaming, as it seemed, that a woodchuck had seized a bit of his hand. But on coming to know where he was and the great scandal he had committed, he seemed much abashed, but did not speak. I think he will not soon again go to sleep in meeting. . . . Yet women may sometimes sleep and none know of it, by reason of their enormous bonnets. Mr. Whiting does pleasantly say from the pulpit he doth seem to be preaching to stacks of straw, with men jotted here and there among them."

Such were some of the characteristics of the government established by the Pilgrims and the Puritans—for eventually the Pilgrims were absorbed in the Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay.

This "Puritan theocracy" of New England, as it is sometimes called, may now seem to us strict and even severe. But what

men and women it made! Narrow and intolerant and austere as the Puritans were, they believed in God and they invoked only His laws to rule their lives. They were red-blooded, conscientious, God-fearing, up-standing men; and the old-fashioned Puritan virtues, transmitted to their descendants, have wielded a mighty influence on American life and government. "Verily, a little one has become a thousand; yea, a little one, a great nation."

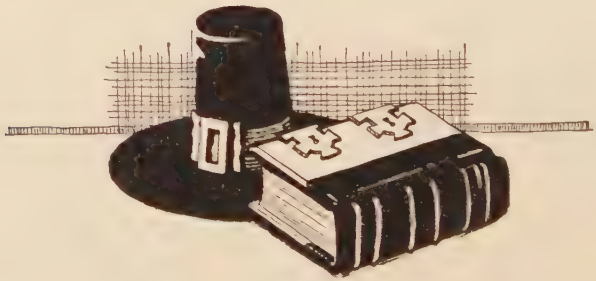
Questions and Activities

1. Would the form of government that was adopted by the Puritans be practical today for your community?

2. Consult reference books for more detailed stories of William Brewster, John Robinson, William Bradford, the Pilgrims, and the Puritans, and be prepared to tell the class some interesting incident.

3. Debate the question as to whether public entertainments, such as baseball and moving pictures, should be allowed on Sunday.

4. Make a list of the Puritan virtues that are considered essential in every American citizen.



ROGER WILLIAMS, THE APOSTLE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

WHILE the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts Bay was being established, there was a young man living in London who was destined to "out-Puritan the Puritans." This was Roger Williams. With the aid of his distinguished patron, Sir Richard Coke, he had received a Master of Arts degree from Pembroke College, Cambridge, and had taken up the study of law. But at that time religious discussion was in the air, and Williams, being an earnest and pious youth, finally decided he would rather be a preacher than a lawyer. So he took up the study of theology, and was later ordained a priest of the Church of England.

He soon came to sympathize with the Puritans, who wished to "purify" the English Church, and later he sided with the Pilgrims, or that group of Puritans that had established a separate church organization. Young Williams learned the Dutch language and crossed over to Holland to live with those Pilgrims who had not gone to America. But presently he, too, became an immigrant to the free land of America, arriving in Boston in 1631.

The Puritans had come to America to enjoy religious freedom, but to them this meant freedom for the exercise of their own religion, and not toleration of other beliefs. They had no patience even with such an inoffensive sect as the Quakers, for example, and persecuted them shamefully. You will recall that the Puritan government was simply a well-organized theocracy, that is, the church controlled the state, the ministers being the real rulers. A man's religious opinions decided his place in the community. Only church members had a vote. If a person neglected to attend church, he was liable to a fine. It was "a state within a church."

According to accounts of both friends and foes, Roger Williams was a sincere man, with gentle manners, who endeared himself to

all with whom he came in contact. He had not been in Boston long before he found a number of things that did not at all suit him. He was disappointed at finding the Puritans so strict and narrow-minded. And like most gentle people who possess strong convictions, he was obstinate in speaking out his thoughts. He contended that true religious liberty meant liberty of conscience. He protested against fining a person who did not attend church. He said that civil magistrates should exercise no control over religious matters; that the church and the state should be entirely separate; that the state should concern itself with civil affairs only, and the church should confine itself to religious matters. While this doctrine was later embodied in our Constitution, Roger Williams was at least one hundred years ahead of his time.

In addition to his stand for complete religious freedom, Williams expressed other views that troubled the Puritans still more. He insisted that the Indians were the real owners of land in America, and hence that they alone could give a good title. He said that the King of England had no more right to give away land in America than in any other country. Of course, this was a reasonable position to take, and several of the colonies acted on it. William Penn and the Pilgrims bought their land of the Indians, and the Dutch bought from them Manhattan Island for twenty-four dollars. Then why should Roger Williams be blamed for saying what others believed and practiced? Because the Massachusetts Bay Colony feared that if the King heard of it, their charter might be revoked and their land taken away from them.

Since the Puritan ministers made life uncomfortable for him in Boston, Williams accepted a call to the church at Salem. But the Bay Colony authorities pursued him there and advised the Salem church that he was "in contempt of authority." The church at Salem, however, refused to ask him to leave, but Williams remained there only a short time before removing to Ply-

mouth. He supported himself there by manual labor and assisted in church. He endeared himself to many of the Pilgrims, and William Bradford says that "his teaching was well approved." While at Plymouth he became, as the historian Bancroft states, "the earliest and lifelong apostle to the Indians." Massasoit was Chief of the Wampanoags, an Indian tribe whose territory covered southern Massachusetts from Cape Cod to Narragansett Bay. He it was who, on March 22, 1621, appeared at the Plymouth settlement in full regalia, accompanied by sixty warriors, and welcomed the Pilgrims warmly. On that occasion a treaty of peace and mutual good-will was signed and for fifty years observed by both sides. Williams spent considerable time among the Indians. He talked with them, as he says, "in their dirty, smoky wigwams," learning their language and teaching them in return. He and Massasoit became lifelong friends, and this enabled Williams in later years to save New England from threatened Indian uprisings.

After spending three years at Plymouth, Williams was recalled to the church at Salem. But his views were so much more liberal than those generally accepted at that time, that he was met with constant opposition. Finally in July, 1635, he was summoned to appear before the General Court of Massachusetts on a charge of "maintaining dangerous opinions." The hearing was not to be held till October, perhaps with the idea in mind that meanwhile he would think better of it and mend his ways. But he persisted, both in and outside of the pulpit, in speaking his convictions, and on October nineteenth he was ordered by the court "to depart the jurisdiction" within six weeks. He was later granted permission to remain till spring. Then word came to the magistrates that he was "maintaining his own views in his own house," so they summoned him to Boston with the intention of sending him back to England. Some friends secretly informed him of this intended move, and he stole away from Salem in the dead of winter, accompanied by a serving man, to seek refuge

with his friend Massasoit. After a journey attended with great hardships, tramping for days through the deep snow in woods as yet untouched by the hand of man, these exhausted travellers at last reached "the smoky wigwam" of Massasoit, where they were warmly welcomed.

Williams stayed with the Indians till spring, and then he and a group of his followers made their way southward. Banished from the Plymouth Colony lands, they crossed the Seekonk River and started a settlement by a spring at the foot of a hill. In grateful acknowledgment of God's mercy, they named the place Providence. The Roger Williams spring may be found today in a cellar on North Main Street in Providence, Rhode Island, near St. John's Church.

When beginning his settlement, Williams obtained from his friend Massasoit the grant of a large tract of land. The colony, for which he later secured a most liberal charter from the King of England, was founded on the principle of liberty of conscience. This principle was later put in written form, known as the "Famous Compact of 1638," as follows:

> We whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for the public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town-fellowship, and such others whom they shall admit unto them, only in civil things."

Thus these men, like the Pilgrims when they drew up and signed the Mayflower Compact, without any authority outside themselves, created a state. But the important part of the Compact above quoted is contained in the last four words: "*only in civil things.*" The church was to have no part in the government, and this provision was the first instance in history of the absolute separation of church and state.

The fullest religious toleration was the rule in Rhode Island

from the first, and to this colony there soon came flocking people of all faiths, enthusiasts, fanatics, radicals, and rebels. Many of the newcomers were inclined to think that freedom of conscience meant freedom from civil restraint, but Roger Williams took a firm stand against this doctrine from the first. He insisted that people must live together "in an orderly way"; that true liberty is not license; that liberty must always be regulated by law.

All honor and praise, therefore, to Roger Williams, the Apostle of Religious Liberty. In his day and time he was another prophet crying in the wilderness. One hundred and fifty years later, when our Constitution was adopted, public thought in America had caught up with him. His greatest service to mankind was in demonstrating the possibility of conducting a government in which liberty of conscience could be permitted without loosening the bonds of civil society.

Questions and Activities

1. What is the meaning of the expression, "out-Puritan the Puritans"?

2. What part did the church play in the government of the Puritan colonies? What part does the church play today in the government of our country?

3. Read some other account of Massasoit and be able to report to the class.

4. Do we have "liberty of conscience" in America today? Give reasons for your answer.

THE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

At this point it would be a good plan to review the background of the Declaration of Independence by re-reading "Proclaiming Liberty Throughout the Land," in Book VII of the Citizenship Readers.

THE key sentence of the Declaration of Independence, which every American boy and girl should be able to quote from memory, is as follows:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

These words state our fathers' conception of universal human rights and the principles on which our American Government, and indeed all just governments, must be founded. Where else shall we find such an inspired utterance, at once compact and comprehensive, of the rights of man and the principles of good government?

First, there is the doctrine of equality. This does not mean that all persons are created equal in intelligence, worldly possessions, or physical attributes. Political equality is what Jefferson had in mind when he drafted the Declaration. This means that every American citizen is equal before the law. It means "equal opportunity to all and special privileges to none;" the exclusion of no citizen from public benefits because of race or poverty or lowly birth. It means the absence of class distinctions which exist in other countries. At the same time it means viewing this idea of equality in the right spirit. It does not mean a levelling down but rather a levelling up. It means,

as Theodore Parker once finely expressed the idea, not "I am as good as you are," but "You are as good as I am." Note further that the Declaration says *all* men; not Americans alone but mankind in its entirety; and ever since this immortal document was published to the world, its general application to all races and conditions of men has cheered and comforted and given fresh courage to the oppressed and down-trodden everywhere.

Among the enumerated unalienable rights is the right to life. It may seem strange to us today that even in 1776 this was almost a new idea in the philosophy of government. In old-world times a ruler owned his subjects. "Off with his head" was warrant enough for a king to put an enemy out of his way. The signers of the Declaration asserted that life was sacred. But this meant to them more than simply the right to live and move and have our being, more than merely existing. They meant that government should permit a citizen to make the most out of his life. They had come to America to enjoy religious freedom, to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and to order their lives in conformity with the divine law. Their idea of the right to life, therefore, was in accord with the words of the Saviour: "I have come that ye might have life, and that ye might have it more abundantly." It was this abundant life, this upward reaching toward the higher, the finer, the spiritual things that make life worth living, to which the Declaration primarily refers. That inspired document announced the national purpose to give all the people the right to live a well-rounded, complete American life.

Another American right is that of Liberty. It has always been our proud boast that this is a free country. The Declaration of Independence gave to liberty a new meaning. When we speak of Athenian liberty we must remember that every free-born citizen in Athens stood on the necks of ten slaves. The Magna Charta, as we have already seen, granted no such

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE CHAMBER IN INDEPENDENCE HALL, WITH THE SIGNERS' DESK AND PRESIDENT'S CHAIR

measure of liberty as did the Declaration of Independence. The Great Charter referred primarily to the rights of the ruling class, the barons. It scarcely touched the great mass of the people. And while the system of slavery existed in America at the time of the adoption of the Declaration, practically all the leading statesmen of the time were hoping for its speedy abolition. The whole tenor and spirit of the Declaration of Independence, as Jefferson himself contended, was opposed to this system. It was declared that *all* men are entitled to liberty and to equal opportunity in the race of life. This was a much broader conception of liberty than had ever before been publicly proclaimed.

Looking back through the corridors of time, we see a continuous procession of human beings being murdered or maimed or held in some form of bondage in order to serve the selfish purposes of some man or set of men who assumed power over the lives and destinies of their fellow men. Against these practices the great Declaration of Human Rights squarely set itself. All men, it declared, have the unalienable right to liberty.

While we gratefully acknowledge this advanced stand on behalf of human freedom, people sometimes form some very silly and unfounded notions about liberty. The story is told of an Irishman who, having just arrived in America, began at once to exercise what he thought was his newly-found liberty. Meeting a man on Broadway who got in his way, this newly-arrived immigrant landed a blow squarely on the man's nose. The blow was at once returned with a harder one that knocked the Irishman down. The latter presently arose, looked in surprise at his antagonist and said, "I thought this was a free country." "It is," was the reply, "but your freedom ends where my nose begins."

Real liberty can exist only when those who are associated together avoid doing anything to interfere with the equal liberty of others. The liberty of each is bounded always by the liberty of all. It is liberty under law. Our whole system of

government is built on the principle of imposing such restraint on the people as a whole that fundamental rights are not violated by mob or mass action. The lack of such restraint caused the horrors of the French Revolution, giving rise to the cry of Madam Roland from the guillotine, "Oh Liberty! What crimes have been committed in thy name!" Washington long ago pointed out that "We must distinguish between license and liberty; we must recognize the difference between oppression and necessary authority."

The other unalienable right mentioned in the Declaration is "the pursuit of happiness." This is a natural result of the enjoyment of perfect liberty. The founders of our government declared that men should be allowed to live their own lives in their own way, and that no government has the right unnecessarily to interfere with their pursuit of happiness. To our fathers "the pursuit of happiness" referred primarily to religious freedom—to the free exercise of one's spiritual impulses. A man was to be "the captain of his soul." It is sometimes claimed that our people today are engaged in such a mad pursuit of pleasures that they have forgotten the secret of true happiness. Pleasures appeal to the senses and come from without. Happiness comes from within. It does not need to be sought from afar. It lies at our very door. It is a state of mind and spirit that brings wholesome enjoyment. It is measured, not by material things, but by the spiritual enrichment which alone makes a happy people and a great nation.

Finally, there is the declaration that the powers of government must come from the consent of the governed. This was an absolutely new principle in the political world of that time. In all other governments, sovereignty was vested either in an hereditary monarch who claimed to rule by divine right, or in a small group of other sovereigns. The Declaration of Independence announced that our government was to be, as Lincoln later phrased it, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The ultimate source of power, the court of last resort, is the people as a whole. The American idea is that those to whom authority is delegated are not the masters but the servants of the people. Here we have the basis for that perfect democracy which is America's ideal.

Independence Hall, Philadelphia

The Declaration of Independence did not attempt to define the powers of our national government. It only announced the fundamental and eternal principles on which government should rest. It breathes the spirit of human brotherhood, and points the way to the ideal government of which philosophers and sages have dreamed. Jefferson was only another Apostle Paul saying: "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt

love thy neighbor as thyself." This is the ideal of a perfect self-government.

It is generally conceded that this great Declaration of Human Rights contains the last word on the principles of a just government. For one hundred and fifty years it has been the goal of American government, and has also been a star of hope for other peoples less fortunately situated than we are. Speaking in Philadelphia on July 5, 1926, at the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Calvin Coolidge said:

"It is little wonder that people at home and abroad consider Independence Hall as hallowed ground and revere the Liberty Bell as a sacred relic. That pile of bricks and mortar, that mass of metal, might appear to the uninstructed as only the outgrown meeting-place and the shattered bell of a former time, useless now because of more modern conveniences, but to those who know they have become consecrated by the use men have made of them. They have long been identified with a great cause. They are the framework of a spiritual event. The world looks upon them, because of their associations of one hundred and fifty years ago, as it looks upon the Holy Land because of what took place there nineteen hundred years ago. Through use for a righteous purpose they have become sanctified."

Questions and Activities

1. Be able to quote from memory the "Declaration of Human Rights."

2. Are all men created with equal abilities and advantages? With equal opportunities? Discuss fully.

3. Be prepared to state to the class your own ideas about the meaning of the phrase, "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

4. Prepare to debate the question as to whether or not America is today observing in all respects the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN

The following poem was inspired by the colossal bronze statue on Bedloe Island in New York harbor, the work of the French sculptor Bartholdi, and the gift of the French people to the United States. It is the figure of a woman bearing aloft a torch in her right hand. The figure is 151 feet high, and rests on a granite pedestal 155 feet high provided by popular subscription in the United States. The statue, which was designed to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of American independence, was placed in position in 1885 and unveiled in 1886. It is the tallest statue in the world. It is illuminated at night, and forms a landmark for ships entering the harbor.

WARDEN at ocean's gate,
Thy feet on sea and shore,
Like one the skies await
When time shall be no more!
What splendors crown thy brow?
What bright dread angel Thou,
Dazzling the waves before
Thy station great?

"My name is Liberty!
From out a mighty land
I face the ancient sea,
I lift to God my hand;
By day in Heaven's light,
A pillar of fire by night,
At ocean's gate I stand
Nor bend the knee.

"The dark Earth lay in sleep,
Her children crouched forlorn,
Ere on the western steep

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY IN NEW YORK HARBOR

I sprang to height, reborn:
Then what a joyous shout
The quickened lands gave out,
And all the choir of morn
Sang anthems deep.

"Beneath yon firmament,
The New World to the Old
My sword and summons sent,
My azure flag unrolled:
The Old World's hands renew
Their strength; the form ye view
Came from a living mould
In glory bent.

"O ye, whose broken spars
Tell of the storms ye met,
Enter! fear not the bars
Across your pathway set;
Enter at Freedom's porch,
For you I lift my torch,
For you my coronet
Is rayed with stars.

"But ye that hither draw
To desecrate my fee,
Nor yet have held in awe
The justice that makes free, —
Avaunt, ye darkling brood!
By Right my house hath stood:
My name is Liberty,
My throne is Law."

O wonderful and bright,
Immortal Freedom, hail!
Front, in thy fiery might,

The midnight and the gale;
Undaunted on this base
Guard well thy dwelling-place:
Till the last sun grow pale
Let there be Light!

Questions and Activities

Imagine yourself on the deck of a ship returning from foreign lands, and you see in the distance the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World." What thoughts and feelings come to you?

THE BIBLE OF DEMOCRACY

EUGENE LOWERY GRAVES

THE Declaration of Independence, the greatest of all state documents ever penned by the hand of man, was framed by men who relied on silent communion with Almighty God. It is in essence a religious rather than a political document, and it is the spirit of religion animating its words that makes it immortal. It was the spirit of the Declaration that led to the Bill of Rights in our Constitution, and in its main features the Constitution is simply the Declaration of Independence writ large as the basic law of the land.

Note that in the very opening words of the Preamble to the Declaration there is direct acknowledgment of the authority of God in human affairs:

> When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

In four different ways and places in the Declaration the Deity is mentioned: "Nature and nature's God," "Creator," "Supreme Judge of the world," and "Divine Providence." The men who drafted this great Declaration of Human Rights believed in an overruling Power, and they invoked His laws to guide their lives. Religion with them was not an empty form. It is safe to say that at no other time in history has a political assembly been made up of men who so thoroughly believed in the power of Almighty God and whose communion with Him in their daily

lives was so close. Let us note three or four typical examples among the fifty-six signers of this instrument.

One of the outstanding members of the Congress that adopted the Declaration was Benjamin Franklin. Throughout his long and useful life he believed devoutly in a Supreme Ruler in the affairs of men. It is related that during the sessions of the Constitutional Convention, when the proceedings became practically deadlocked by reason of serious differences among the delegates, Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, arose and called the attention of the delegates to the fact that in all their deliberations up to that time they had failed to invoke the guidance of the Ruler of the Universe, and suggested that thereafter the sessions be opened with prayer. This suggestion had the immediate effect of calming the waves of dissension, and from that time onward the Convention began to make progress.

The spirit of the time was voiced as follows by Matthew Thornton, one of the signers representing New Hampshire: "We recommend to the Colonies at large to cultivate that Christian union, harmony, and tender affection which form the only foundation upon which our invaluable privileges can rest with any security, or our public measures can be pursued with the least prospect of success. We recommend a serious regard to the rules of temperance, sobriety, and righteousness. In a word, we seriously and earnestly recommend the practice of that pure and undefiled religion which embalms the memory of our pious ancestors, as that alone upon which we can build a solid hope and confidence in the Divine protection and favor without whose blessings all the measures of safety we have or can propose will end in our shame and disappointment."

Richard Stockton, one of the delegates from New Jersey, bespeaking that religious tolerance which is a tenet of American government, in his last will and testament thus exhorted his children: "Remember that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. As Almighty God has not been pleased in the Holy

Scriptures to prescribe any precise mode in which He is to be publicly worshipped, contention about it generally arises from want of knowledge or want of virtue. I have no particular advice to leave to my children upon this subject save only that they deliberately and conscientiously determine for themselves with which denomination of Christians they can most devoutly worship God, and that after such determination they steadily adhere to that denomination without being given to changing, and without contending against or judging others who may think or act differently in a matter so immaterial to substantial virtue and piety."

Another of the signers, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, who has been called "The Father of the Revolution," expressed his attitude as follows: "I trust I have long since made my peace with the King of Kings. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country."

Such was the deeply religious character of the men who entered upon the great adventure of a free government whose standards were fixed by divine law. The Creator endowed all men, they declared, with certain unalienable rights, and for the maintenance of these rights they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. This Declaration became the pillar of fire that lighted the dark night of their journey from bondage and oppression to the daybreak of a free and just government.

The religious character of the founders of our government was inherited from their fathers. It should be borne in mind that religious freedom was the impelling motive in the colonization of America. Certainly this was true of those colonies that eventually united and formed the American nation. The men who really established our nation did not come here as pirates or plunderers, as was the case with former migrations of people. They sought a new home in this new world of America, where they might dwell unmolested by a tyrannical government, rear their children, worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience,

live their own lives in freedom and peace, and enjoy the blessings of "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Emerging from the darkness and cruelty of the Middle Ages, the Huguenots from France, the Pilgrims from Holland, and the Puritans from England, who landed on our shores in the seventeenth century, came here for the primary purpose of securing a larger measure of freedom to worship God and to think and act for themselves. Their passion for individual and religious liberty, equally potent among the Puritans in New England, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Catholics in Maryland, and the various other groups which made up the original thirteen colonies, finally merged the best elements of all and founded here a republic which would ensure the blessing of liberty to themselves and their posterity.

Thus it came about naturally that the Declaration of Independence expressed the political religion of the colonists. We speak of it as an "immortal document." It is immortal because it expresses eternal truths that are universal in their application. Its message is not for Americans alone, but for the down-trodden and heavy-laden everywhere. Just as the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount were inspired, even so was the Declaration of Independence. For all time it will stand as the most comprehensive and loftiest statement of human rights ever uttered, and of the true principles of government for all men and nations; and it therefore is in very truth THE BIBLE OF DEMOCRACY.

Questions and Activities

1. Why does the author say that the Declaration of Independence is in essence "a religious rather than a political document"? Make a list of your reasons.

2. Find out all you can about any one of the signers of the Declaration (except Franklin) and write a short composition about him.

EMBARKING ON A GREAT ADVENTURE IN GOVERNMENT

THE thirteen original American colonies, or states, had declared their independence, and largely through the genius of Washington in winning the Revolutionary War, this Declaration became an actuality. The colonies were free, but they had as yet no real national government. Each state went its own way with little regard for the other states. This condition gave rise to frequent quarrels over matters of trade and commerce.

In the spring of 1785, at the invitation of Washington, commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met at Mount Vernon for the purpose of adjusting differences that had arisen over the navigation of the Potomac River. At this conference it was decided to issue a call for a convention of delegates from all of the states to consider questions of inter-state commerce. This convention met at Annapolis, Maryland, on the first Monday in September, 1786. Only five of the states were represented—Virginia, Delaware, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. After talking matters over, the brilliant young attorney from New York, Alexander Hamilton, then under thirty years of age, offered a resolution, which was unanimously adopted, providing for another convention of all the states to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, 1787, to consider not only questions of commerce between the states, but "to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as should appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." After some delay the Continental Congress endorsed this call.

There was urgent need for such action. Six years previously a plan had been adopted for forming a union of the several states

to promote their common interests. This plan was embodied in the Articles of Confederation, an instrument which was designated as "a league of friendship." The Articles set up a central government in a Congress of one branch or house, composed of delegates from the states. Each state had equal voting power with every other state, regardless of size or population. Congress was granted many important powers, but for the enforcement of its laws it had to depend upon the states. Congress could "declare everything, but do nothing." The Articles of Confederation represented a movement in the direction of a closer union of the states, but they came far short of providing the authority necessary for a real national government.

These Articles, however, besides being a step toward "a more perfect union," served the far-reaching purpose of establishing a territorial policy. The Congress of the Confederation persuaded the states having conflicting and overlapping claims to the "Northwest Territory," the lands lying between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, to cede this territory to the union as a whole. This accomplished, the Congress, during its closing days, passed the "Ordinance of 1787," which provided for religious freedom in the territory, guaranteed the right of trial by jury, and granted other civil rights. Among its most important provisions was the one excluding slavery. It further declared that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," and the policy of aiding schools and state universities by grants of land had its origin with the Congress of the Confederation.

But as an instrument of effective government the Articles of Confederation proved utterly inadequate. Each state was intensely jealous of its recently acquired independence and stood constantly on guard against exchanging one tyrannical government for another. The colonists had become accustomed to a local self-government, and their "fierce spirit of liberty," of which Burke spoke in his great speech on Conciliation, was all the more pronounced because of ignorance of their common interests, due

to the poor facilities for ready communication. There were no public highways worthy of the name. There were no railroads or telegraph lines, let alone automobiles, airplanes, telephones, and radios; and for practical purposes Philadelphia was farther from New York than Los Angeles is today.

During the Revolutionary War the colonies stood together in the face of a common danger. With this danger removed, each state became concerned with its own selfish interests, and treated the other states as foreign countries. They quarrelled incessantly. As each state, and not Congress, had the sole right of levying duties on imports, there resulted not only a keen competition for foreign commerce, but some of the states began taxing the imports from other states. New York laid a heavy duty on the produce that was being brought in from New Jersey and Connecticut. New Jersey retaliated by levying a tax of $1800 a year against the New York lighthouse on Sandy Hook. And at a meeting of business men held at New London, Connecticut, it was unanimously agreed to suspend all commercial intercourse with New York. And yet, Connecticut had already laid a tax on imports from Massachusetts!

The finances of the Confederation, also, were in a hopeless state. The Congress had no power to levy taxes, so it asked the states to contribute proportionate shares to meet the expenses of government. Most of the states offered one excuse or another for not paying their share. During the Revolutionary War, Congress attempted to tide over the emergency by issuing bills of credit, or paper currency. Gradually the purchasing power of this Continental currency sank so low that "not worth a continental" has survived even to this day as a term for utter worthlessness. By 1781 it took ten paper dollars to make a cent! It is said that Samuel Adams paid $2000 for a hat and a suit of clothes. "A barber in Philadelphia papered his shops with bills, and a dog was led up and down the streets smeared with tar, with this unhappy money sticking all over him."

The farmers of Rhode Island, who were in the majority in the legislature, thought they had hit on a solution of their troubles when they issued a legal tender paper currency. Any farmer could borrow from the public treasury an amount equal to one-half the appraised value of his land. But depreciation began at once, and the legislature passed the most radical laws in an attempt to keep their rag money at par. But all to no avail. In Massachusetts, riots broke out against the courts when creditors attempted to collect debts by legal process. The farmers of western Massachusetts considered the high taxes an unnecessary burden, and some of them even argued that property should be common, because all had aided in saving it from confiscation by England. Finally an armed insurrection broke out in 1786 under the leadership of one Daniel Shays, which was only quelled by military force. The Congress itself was at one time driven out of Philadelphia to the college halls of Princeton by a threatening group of soldiers who demanded their back pay.

The experiment with this semblance of a central government during the period from 1781 to 1789, represents what the historian, John Fiske, calls "the critical period in American history." Chaos reigned supreme, and the states appeared to be drifting rapidly toward anarchy and civil war. The thoughtful leaders in all the states realized the impossibility of an effective Federal government under the Articles of Confederation. Congress made three different attempts to have the states adopt amendments that would at least have tided over the chief troubles, but these amendments failed of adoption because they lacked the unanimous approval which the Articles required. Washington, along with other leaders, early saw the absolute necessity of a stronger central government. To his orderly mind, lawlessness was abhorrent. In 1786 he wrote to Madison: "Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other will soon bring ruin on the whole. No morn ever dawned more favorably than ours did, and no day was ever more clouded than the present." Upon being urged to use

his influence for reform, he replied: "Influence is not government. Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and property will be secure, or let us know the worst at once."

The movement for a reform of the general government, therefore, came none too soon. Pursuant to the call originating in the Annapolis Convention, eleven of the states promptly selected delegates for the Convention to be held at Philadelphia. New Hampshire was slow in acting, and Rhode Island paid no attention to the call. The states as a whole realized the gravity of the situation, and selected their very best men as representatives.

Many of the delegates were late in arriving. Means of travel were slow and uncertain. Whenever possible the people travelled by water. Sloops sailed along the coast and on the navigable streams, carrying passengers and freight. Since the movement of the ships depended upon the winds, the rate of transit was very uncertain. Even so, this mode of travel was preferred, unless a stage-coach could be used. There were a few routes covered by stage-coaches, principally from Boston to New York, and from New York to Philadelphia. There were few highways or bridges in the country, and an overland journey of any length had to be made on horseback. This meant fording streams, making frequent detours, sometimes weather-bound for days, with poor accommodations at the country inns.

The difficulties of travel under which the delegates from any distance labored, is shown by the experience of George Washington. With great reluctance, but urged by a sense of patriotic duty, Washington finally consented to serve as a delegate from Virginia. In addition to his disinclination to leaving home, he was at that time so afflicted with rheumatism that he had been carrying his arm in a sling. Further, although one of the richest land owners in America, he was cramped for ready money to defray the expenses of the journey. Notwithstanding these difficulties he set out on horseback from Mount Vernon on May 9th, arriving that night at Bladensburg with a racking headache. At

one o'clock the next day he was in Baltimore. On the next day he reached Havre de Grace, but was unable to cross the river, "the wind being turbulent and squally." The roads in places were almost impassable, but the next day he crossed the Susquehanna and stopped that night in Wilmington. On the fourth day after his departure he reached Chester, and from that point was escorted to Philadelphia, reaching that city on Sunday evening, May 13th. The convention had been called to meet the next day.

Always punctual, Washington was disappointed and annoyed on finding that only Virginia and Pennsylvania were represented by delegates. "These delays," he said, "greatly impede public measures and serve to sour the temper of the punctual members, who do not like to idle away their time." He doubtless felt that if he, suffering keenly from rheumatism, could traverse the long distance over poor roads from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia and arrive on time, at least the delegates from adjacent states could show a like activity on behalf of the important business for which the convention was called.

While waiting for the arrival of tardy members, there was some informal discussion among the delegates present as to the best method of procedure to accomplish the purpose of the convention. It was strongly urged, on the one hand, that nothing short of an entirely new instrument of government would be "adequate to the exigencies of the Union." On the other hand, the more timid members pointed out that they were limited by the call to a revision of the Articles of Confederation, and that an entirely new plan of government would not be accepted by the people. On one of these occasions Washington is reported to have said: "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. But if, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

This counsel of Washington was eventually followed by the Convention, and the delegates boldly and resolutely decided to cast aside the Articles of Confederation and set out on the great adventure of a new form of government under which, with few changes, our nation has lived and prospered to this good hour.

Questions and Activities

1. Make a list of the weak points in the Articles of Confederation.
2. What were the thirteen original American colonies?
3. What common interests hold the states together today?
4. What modern inventions make a central government a more workable affair than in 1781?
5. Why is the adoption of a new Constitution spoken of as "A Great Adventure"?

THE DELEGATES TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

AT THE old State House in Philadelphia, in a room about fifty feet square, the same hall where the Declaration of Independence was signed and the Articles of Confederation framed, the delegates from the states convened on May 25, 1787, and for nearly four months deliberated behind closed doors until the Constitution was ready for submission to the several states. A total of seventy-two leading men in the colonies had been named as delegates by the various legislatures. Each state was permitted to send as many delegates as it chose, since the states were to vote as units, that is, each state to cast a single vote as determined by a majority of its delegates present and voting. The largest attendance at any one time was fifty-five, and at the close of the Convention, only thirty-nine remained to finish the work. And yet, this was without question the most important political meeting in our history, if not, indeed, in the history of the world. It will be worth our while, therefore, to see just who the members of this Convention were, for it should give us renewed confidence in the results of their labors.

George Washington was the presiding officer of that notable gathering, chosen for that responsibility by the common impulse which had recognized him as first in war, which was to make him first in peace as President of the new government, and which was to leave him to future generations ever first in the hearts of his countrymen.

Pennsylvania was naturally represented by the largest delegation, and included among its numbers Thomas Mifflin, for nine years governor of the state; Robert Morris, who died penniless as a result of his sacrifices in financing the Revolutionary War; George Clymer, one of the first United States Senators from Pennsylvania; Jared Ingersoll, the leader of the bar of his state; Thomas

Fitzsimmons, a famous merchant of Philadelphia; James Wilson, a Scotchman, doubtless the ablest constitutional lawyer in the convention, later a Justice of the Supreme Court; Gouverneur Morris, the reputed inventor of our decimal system of notation, one of the far-sighted projectors of the Erie Canal, and the one who was selected, by reason of his skill in English, to make the final draft of the Constitution. To this list, by special act of the Pennsylvania Assembly, was added Benjamin Franklin. He was then eighty-one years old, but clear-brained and diplomatic as ever. Although suffering from a chronic disease that made it difficult for him to be on his feet, he was present at every session. Next to Washington, Franklin was the greatest asset of the Convention. His unfailing good humor, common sense, and consummate tact in speaking the right word at the right time, helped mightily in bridging over many threatening gaps.

From New Jersey came William Churchill Houston, professor at Princeton; David Brearley, Chief Justice of the state; William Paterson, attorney-general of the state, afterwards United States Senator and Justice of the Supreme Court; Jonathan Dayton, a graduate of Princeton and later a member of Congress; and William Livingstone, a graduate of Yale, a member of the Continental Congress, and eleven times governor of the state.

The delegates from New York were Robert Yates, who became Chief Justice of the state; John Lansing, a member of the old Congress and later a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; and the most noteworthy delegate, the brilliant young Alexander Hamilton, leader of the Federalist party, first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, possessing one of the greatest constructive minds that American statesmanship has to show.

Massachusetts sent Rufus King, Ambassador to Great Britain during two administrations; Elbridge Gerry, signer of the Declaration and fourth Vice-President of the United States; Nathaniel Gorham, a noted jurist; and Caleb Strong, governor of the state and one of its first United States Senators.

New Hampshire sent John Langdon, member of the Continental Congress, United States Senator, and twice governor of his state; and Nicholas Gilman, later a member of Congress.

In the Connecticut delegation were Roger Sherman who, beginning life as an itinerant shoemaker, became one of the leaders of the Revolution and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, later a member of Congress; William Samuel Johnson, an eminent lawyer, member of Congress, and president of Columbia College; and Oliver Ellsworth, a graduate of Princeton, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court and Minister to France.

Delaware elected John Dickinson, who was a potent factor in the convention, and who in the later years of his life became the principal donor in the founding of Dickinson College; George Read, one of the signers of the Declaration, a member of the Trade Convention at Annapolis, Chief Justice of his state and United States Senator; Gunning Bedford, first judge of the Federal District Court for Delaware; Richard Bassett, governor of his state and United States Senator; and Jacob Broom, a member of the Annapolis Convention.

From Maryland came James McHenry, Washington's secretary, later United States Secretary of War; Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, a member of the commission appointed by Maryland to settle the jurisdiction over Chesapeake Bay, and whose report led to the calling of the Constitutional Convention; Daniel Carroll, member of Congress and one of the commissioners who located the capital of the United States; John Francis Mercer, member of Congress and governor of Maryland; and Luther Martin, the distinguished lawyer who was counsel for Aaron Burr in his trial for conspiracy to overthrow the national government.

In addition to Washington, Virginia sent James Madison, who has been called the "Father of the Constitution," (whose diary of the debates in the Convention, published fifty years later, is the chief source of information regarding the proceedings, who was

first Secretary of State under the new government and was twice President); Edmund Randolph, governor of the state and first Attorney-General of the United States; John Blair, Justice of the Supreme Court; George Mason, author of the famous "Declaration of Rights" of Virginia in 1776; George Wythe, a signer of the Declaration and eminent lawyer and judge; and James McClurg, a doctor of medicine from Edinburg, chosen to represent Virginia when Patrick Henry declined to serve.

North Carolina chose for delegates Alexander Martin, a graduate of Princeton, governor of his state, and United States Senator; William Richie Davie, also a graduate of Princeton, and later an envoy to France; William Blount, delegate to the old Congress and later United States Senator from Tennessee; Richard Dobbs Spaight, a graduate of the University of Glasgow, and member of Congress; Hugh Williamson, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and also a member of Congress.

From South Carolina came John Rutledge, a native of Ireland, and in later years Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, educated at Oxford, and later Minister to France; Charles Pinckney, reputed author of the system of government finally agreed upon in the Convention, four times governor of his state, United States Senator, Minister to Spain, and member of Congress; Pierce Butler, an Irishman, active in the debates of the Convention, and first United States Senator from his state.

Georgia sent William Few, member of the Continental Congress and United States Senator; Abraham Baldwin, a graduate of Yale, president of the University of Georgia, of which he was one of the founders, member of the Continental Congress, and United States Senator; William Houston and William Pierce, both of whom had been members of the old Congress.

Rhode Island refused to send delegates, and was not represented in the Convention.

In the group of fifty-five men who at one time or another were

in attendance upon the Convention, thirty-nine had been members of the First or Second Continental Congress, eight had participated in framing the Constitution of their respective states, twenty-four were college graduates. The average age of the delegates was forty-nine, and every one of them was famed for some honorable achievement in civil life.

Such was the caliber of the men, through the labor of whose concerted minds there was finally to emerge a plan of government designed to serve as the true star for the course of self-government the world over. Verily, "There were giants in those days." It may be doubted if an abler body of men ever met in a deliberative assembly. Certain it is that in character, intelligence, political experience, balanced judgment, range of vision, and patriotism, the framers of our Constitution were preëminently qualified for their gigantic task.

Questions and Activities

1. Make a list of the states and their delegates.

2. Consult a history of the United States for an explanation of why Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson were not among the delegates.

3. Read other accounts and write a character sketch of one of the following: Robert Morris; Gouverneur Morris; Alexander Hamilton; James Madison; Edmund Randolph.

THE CONVENTION IN SESSION

THE Constitutional Convention was called to order on May 25, 1787, after delegates from nine of the states had arrived in Philadelphia. George Washington was at once unanimously chosen as the presiding officer. The most authentic record of what transpired during the sessions, lasting nearly four months, is found in the notes made by James Madison, published fifty years later. The leading advocate of a strong national government, Alexander Hamilton of New York, then but thirty years of age, was not supported by the two other delegates from that state, so during the opening days of the Convention Hamilton was a spectator only. The venerable Benjamin Franklin will always be remembered as a commanding figure in the assembly. These four men—Washington, Madison, Hamilton, and Franklin —were among the leading actors in this great drama, although a number of other delegates played prominent parts, notably James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, George Mason of Virginia, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, and the Pinckneys of South Carolina.

First of all, the Convention adopted rules of order, the most important being a provision to keep their proceedings absolutely secret; and this was to be observed, not only during the Convention, but even during the lives of the members. The majority of the delegates felt that in secret sessions they could talk over their differences more freely and frankly, and that members would not be tempted to speak "to the galleries." Further, and most important of all, it was felt that the public mind was so unsettled it would be better to allay further agitation until a new instrument of government was first agreed upon, and then to present to the people the plan in its entirety.

The next step was to determine whether they should attempt

simply to amend the Articles of Confederation, or to override the instructions of the Congress and draft an entirely new constitution. After a sharp debate lasting several days, the majority decided that nothing short of a wholly new plan of government would suffice to meet the needs of the country. The Convention then began its long and arduous task of determining what form this new plan should take.

It was an assembly of "many men of many minds." They were for the most part leaders, not followers. In fact, the very strength and self-reliance of these men, together with the general condition of the country at that time, rendered an agreement upon an effective instrument for a national government by no means promising. There was a sharp division, in the first place, between the smaller and the larger states. While all of the states were jealously guarding their dearly-bought liberties from an undue surrender to a central government, the smaller states were particularly fearful of the power of the larger states. Thus, when it was proposed that each state should be represented in Congress in proportion to its population, the smaller states insisted that there must be equal representation in the law-making body. Finally a compromise was reached, providing for equal representation in the Senate and proportionate representation in the House of Representatives.

The next important compromise referred to slaves. The southern members wanted the slaves counted for the purpose of representation in the lower house of Congress, while the northern members wanted them counted only for the purpose of levying taxes. It was finally agreed that for both purposes slaves should be counted to the extent of three-fifths of their total number.

The third great compromise involved two issues: the regulation of the slave trade and the power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The southern states were opposed to giving Congress power over commerce or the slave trade. The compromise reached granted to Congress power to regulate commerce but

withheld for twenty years the power to prohibit the traffic in slaves.

The adoption of these three main compromises paved the way for agreement on other details. Without this "give and take" action, no new constitution could have been secured at that time. As it was, the debates over the issues raised were often prolonged and bitter. Before the first great compromise was reached, the one dealing with the membership of the two houses of Congress, passions rose so high in the debates at one point that the Convention, as Luther Martin of Maryland expressed it, "scarce held together by the strength of a hair." It is quite possible that the wise counsels of Benjamin Franklin at this point saved the situation.

The Convention had met day after day for four weeks without making any progress whatever toward agreement upon a new plan of national government. On the last morning of the fifth week, in the midst of a very heated discussion, the delegates from four of the smaller states threatened to withdraw and abandon the great purpose for which they had met unless they were granted equal representation in both branches of Congress. At this juncture Franklin arose and spoke in part as follows:

"We have arrived, Mr. President, at a very momentous and interesting crisis in our deliberations. Hitherto our views have been as harmonious, and our progress as great, as could reasonably have been expected under all the circumstances. But now an unlooked for and formidable obstacle is thrown in our way, which threatens to arrest our course and to render all our fond hopes of a Constitution abortive. The ground which has been taken by the delegates of the four smallest states was to me wholly unexpected. But I will not, therefore, conclude that it is impossible for me to be wrong! It is possible that some change in our late proceedings ought to take place upon principles of political justice, and that, all things considered, the majority may see cause to recede from some of their contentions. When a

joiner wishes to fit two boards, he sometimes pares off a bit from both.

"It is to be feared, however, that the members of this Convention are not at this moment in a temper to approach in this spirit the subject on which we differ. I would therefore propose, Mr. President, that without proceeding further in this business at this time, the Convention shall adjourn for three days in order to let the present ferment pass off, and to afford time for a more full, free, and dispassionate investigation of the subject; and I would earnestly recommend to the members of this Convention that they spend the time of this recess, not in associating with their own party and devising new arguments to fortify themselves in their old opinions, but that they mix with members of opposite sentiments, lend a patient ear to their reasonings, and candidly allow them all the weight to which they may be entitled; and when we assemble again, I hope it will be with a determination to form a Constitution, if not such an one as we can individually in all respects approve, yet the best which, under existing circumstances, can be obtained.

"Before I sit down, Mr. President, I will suggest another matter; and I am really surprised that it has not been proposed by some other member at an earlier period of our deliberations. The small progress we have made after four or five weeks' close attention and continual reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ayes, is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolutions, now no longer exist; and we have viewed modern states all around Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable in our circumstances.

"In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings?

"I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel; we shall be divided by our little, partial, local interests, our project will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a byword down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war, conquest. I therefore beg leave to move:

"That hereafter prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service."

Through fear of publicity regarding the troubles they were having, the members of the Convention did not adopt Franklin's latter suggestion in the form offered, but it nevertheless had a most salutary effect, for from that time on the Convention began to make progress with the business at hand.

Questions and Activities

1. Could such a convention today keep its proceedings secret? Why?
2. List the important questions that the convention had to settle.
3. What great services did Franklin render during this convention?

THE CLOSE OF A NOTABLE CONVENTION

ON SEPTEMBER 17, 1787, a date ever to be memorable, the final form of the Constitution was presented for the signatures of the delegates. Of the fifty-five members who at one time and another had participated in the deliberations of the Convention, only thirty-nine remained till the close, and three of these—Edmund Randolph and George Mason of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts—refused to the last to sign. Others were holding back from signing because of this or that objection. At this point Benjamin Franklin again came to the rescue and rendered one of the last and greatest services of his long and useful life. With intense earnestness, and with the impressiveness which his career and personality inspired, he said:

"I confess that there are parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects which I once thought right but found to be otherwise. The older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them it is so far error. I am reminded of the remark of a certain French lady whom I knew in Paris. In a dispute with her sister she said: 'I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right.'

"Holding these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if such there be, because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered;

and I believe that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism as other forms have done before it, when the people shall have become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. For whenever you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this Constitution approaching so near to perfection as it does, and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded, and that our states are on the point of separation.

"I approve of this Constitution, Sir, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure it is not the best. The opinions I have held of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born and here they shall die. If every one of us in returning to our constituents were to report the objections he has had to it and endeavor to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being favorably received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on the general opinion of the goodness of the government as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors. I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution (if approved by Congress and confirmed by the conventions) wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administered.

"On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish that every member of the Convention who may still have objections to it, would with me, on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infalli-

bility—and to make manifest our unanimity, subscribe his name to this instrument."

The newspapers of that time stated that Franklin wept as he appealed to the members to sign. At the conclusion of his speech, Washington sat a few moments with head bowed in solemn meditation. Presently he arose and, with pen in hand preparatory to signing, said: "Should the states reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is that opportunity will never be offered to cancel another in peace; the next will be drawn in blood." As the members came forward to add their signatures, a smile illumined Franklin's benignant countenance. It was one of the happiest moments of his life, for the Constitution was the fulfillment of his dream. Back in 1754, while Washington was still surveying lands in the wilderness, Franklin had embodied in the famous "Albany plan" the first complete outline of a federal constitution for America that was ever made. Eleven years previously, in this very room in which the Constitution was now being signed, he had affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence. As the members continued to sign the instrument on which they had labored so long, Franklin saw in prophetic vision the dawn of a new and brighter day for America. Pointing to the half-sun emblazoned on the back of the President's quaint black armchair, he said: "While I have been sitting here all these weeks I have often wondered whether yonder sun was rising or setting. But now I know it is a rising sun!"

Following the utterance of these prophetic words, the curtain fell on this great historical drama.

Questions and Activities

1. Write a sentence for each paragraph of Franklin's address, giving the thought of that paragraph.
2. Find out what the Albany Plan was.
3. How much older was Franklin than Washington?

THE PUBLIC SERVICES OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

James M. Beck

You have read of the prominent part played by Benjamin Franklin in the formation of our government. The following selection refers to his public services in general. The selection is adapted from an address at the graduating exercises of the Peirce School of Business Administration, in Philadelphia. After reading the selection silently, it would be a good plan to read it aloud to an imaginary audience or to the class.

PERHAPS there is no more generally known incident that is connected with American history than one occurring in Philadelphia some two hundred years ago. A friendless, homeless boy of seventeen stood on Market Street wharf and looked upon Penn's "green country town" with the proud challenge of ambitious youth. He was homeless; he was worse than homeless, because he was a fugitive from his home and from the community in which he was born. He was friendless, because no one in that city knew him. He had no clothes but those upon his back and those that he could carry in the bundle in his hand; and he had no food except the roll that he later bought with the last of his few pennies as he walked up Market Street.

And yet, while he did not see it, there was an invisible spirit on that wharf that day, namely, the Spirit of Welcoming Opportunity, that said to him: "Welcome, Benjamin Franklin; this day you are not only entering the portals of a city, you are entering the portals of immortal fame. You will more than vindicate the prediction of your good old Puritan father who promised you, as you stood a little lad at his knees, 'Seest thou a man diligent in his calling; he shall stand before kings.'" For it was the proud privilege of Franklin not merely to stand before kings but to

take from one king the greater part of his empire to found a new republic, and to take from another king his crown. That Spirit of Welcoming Opportunity could also have said to him: "Although your education is scant and has been gained in night study by a tallow dip, yet nevertheless you shall found a great university; you shall establish another college; you will be welcomed into the society of the great scientific associations of the world; you will be given honors of a more varied character than any man of the eighteenth century."

The remarkable fact about the men of Franklin's time was their consecration to public service, in the belief that the perpetuity of the state depended not upon the form of government but upon the political capacity of the individual man. It was for that reason that they gave up so much of their time as to sacrifice personal interests. Franklin, at forty-two, retired from a profitable business, and for forty-two years more—for he died at eighty-four—he gave all of his time to the public service. Washington died land-poor; he even borrowed the money to go to New York to be inaugurated as President, and he declined to take one penny for any public service he ever rendered. Robert Morris, who financed the Revolutionary War, spent some of the last days of his life in a debtor's jail. Alexander Hamilton, the most brilliant intellect of his period except Franklin, died poor because he neglected his law practice to devote himself to the public interests. To these men the business of the state was the big business. They believed that if the business of government were well conducted, the interests of all would be safeguarded.

Today our citizens seem to feel that they have no time to give to the affairs of government. Our people are engaged in a wild scramble for wealth and pleasure. We are living in an age of the flitting, with what I call a moving-picture brain, an age that has lost a true sense of values and has substituted the unreal and the trivial for the things that are real, the things that are serious, the things that are eternal. It is an age that may

well give all of us the most profound concern. It is an age, therefore, when men could most profitably study a career like Franklin's, and see his sense of values and how finely he adapted his life so as to make the best use of the faculties that God had given him for the welfare of his fellow-men.

Each one of you can regard life as a great symphony orchestra. It is true that you will not all play the same instrument. Some of you will be given the first violin and some only the drum or the cymbals; but let not the man who plays the first violin look down upon him who will hereafter only tap the drum, because the majestic totality of a symphony depends upon the man who at the right time beats the drum, as it depends upon the man who plays the first violin, or even upon the man who directs the orchestra. So each of you must contribute to the great symphony of life.

Some of you will succeed; some of you may fail. If you fail, it does not matter, if you have tried your best; because, after all, it is the effort that is taken into account and not the result. The result depends upon a great many fortuitous circumstances which neither you nor I nor anyone else can wholly control. There never was a successful man, Franklin not excluded, who did not in part achieve what he did by circumstances for which he could not claim the credit. And many a man who has failed could properly claim that he had not been so fortunate as others in the opportunities for success. But whether you succeed or whether you fail, let me commend to you a verse of a little poem written by that great novelist, William Makepeace Thackeray:

"Come wealth or want, come good or ill,
Let young and old accept their part,
And bow before the Awful Will,
And bear it with an honest heart.
Who misses, or who wins the prize,
Go, lose or conquer as you can;
But if you fail, or if you rise,
Be each, pray God, a gentleman."

DEBATING THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

AFTER the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention on September 17, 1787, it took some time, in those days of slow travel, for most of the delegates to carry back home the news of their work. But the Pennsylvania delegates, headed by Franklin, were able to submit the Constitution promptly to their state legislature. This they did on the day following its adoption by the delegates to the Convention, and it was one of the proudest moments in the life of the venerable Franklin when in a brief speech he presented to the Pennsylvania legislature a copy of the proposed Federal Constitution and asked for its favorable consideration. This incident marked the first of the struggles for its ratification by conventions in the several states.

Strong opposition to the new Constitution at once developed, and the contest was long and frequently a bitter one. The main arguments of those who opposed its ratification, who were known as Anti-Federalists, were that "it created a national legislature in which the vote was to be by individuals, and not by states; that it granted to this body an unlimited power of taxation; that it gave too much power to the federal judiciary; that it provided for paying the salaries of members of Congress out of the federal treasury, and would thus make them independent of their own states; that it required an oath of allegiance to the federal government; and finally, that it did not contain a bill of rights."

The Federalists, on the other hand, maintained that all of these provisions were necessary and proper for an effective national government; that almost any new plan of government would be an improvement on the one they then had; that the new Constitution was the best that could be devised out of the varied and conflicting ideas and interests of the delegates from the several states; and finally, that whenever experience proved it desirable,

the Constitution, by its own provision, could be amended as the people might wish.

On the 28th of September the Continental Congress, sitting in New York, voted to submit the Constitution to the states. On the same day, and before the news of this action had reached Philadelphia, the Federalists in the Pennsylvania legislature launched a contest for its ratification. The legislature was about to end its session, and the Anti-Federalists hoped to secure sufficient majority in the new legislature to prevent the submission of the Constitution to the people of the state. At this juncture George Clymer, who had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, unexpectedly moved that a state convention be called to consider the proposed new form of government. The Anti-Federalists were not only surprised but enraged. They raised several objections to this motion as being out of order, but it was rushed through and adopted by a vote of 43 to 19. But this did not end the contest.

The motion as adopted simply provided for calling a state convention, but it did not fix the time and place. The legislature then adjourned for dinner. During the noon recess the minority members held a caucus and determined to block further proceedings by absenting themselves from the meetings of the assembly. It required 47 to make a quorum. When the house was called to order after dinner, it was two members short of a quorum. The sergeant-at-arms was sent to summon the absent members, but to no avail. The legislature then adjourned till the following day. The next morning a group of Federalists broke into the lodgings of two minority members and dragged them off to the state house, where they were forcibly held down in their seats while the legislature passed a motion providing for a time and place for the state convention to meet and consider the proposed Constitution. Before these proceedings were concluded, an express-rider from New York brought the official information that Congress had submitted the Constitution to the states.

The desperate methods employed in Pennsylvania illustrate how doubtful was the issue of securing the necessary nine states to ratify the Constitution. The contest in Massachusetts may be taken as typical. This state and Virginia furnished the most powerful political leadership, and were looked upon as pivotal states in determining the outcome. In the Massachusetts state convention there were a total of three hundred and fifty-five delegates, a far larger number than took part in any of the other state conventions, and they represented all classes and interests. They included the outstanding political leaders, twenty-four clergymen of various denominations, and a number of farmers, among whom were some who had been active supporters of Shay's Rebellion.

Along with sound and earnest objections that were urged against the Constitution, there was more or less of the political clap-trap, with its appeals to ignorance and prejudice, that usually accompanies the debates over such momentous issues. There was a deep-seated distrust among the farmers from the mountain districts, not so much of the Constitution itself as of the men who framed it and who were urging its adoption. They distrusted lawyers and were jealous of the wealthy merchants. Thus, one Amos Singletary said: "These lawyers and men of learning and moneyed men that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly to make us poor illiterate people swallow the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves. They mean to be managers of the Constitution. They mean to get all the money into their hands, and then they will swallow up us little folk, like the great Leviathan, Mr. President; yes, just as the whale swallowed Jonah."

At this point a more liberal-minded farmer, one Jonathan Smith, secured the floor and replied as follows: "I am a plain man and not used to speaking in public, but I am going to show the effects of anarchy, that you may see why I wish for good government. Last winter people took up arms, and then, if you went to speak to them, you had the musket of death presented to your breast.

They would rob you of your property, threaten to burn your houses, oblige you to be on your guard night and day. Alarms spread from town to town, families were broken up. Some were taken captive; children were taken out of their schools and carried away. Our distress was so great that we should have been glad to snatch at anything that looked like a government.

"Now, Mr. President, when I saw this Constitution, I found that it was a cure for these disorders. I got a copy of it and read it over and over. I did not go to any lawyer to ask his opinion; we have no lawyer in our town, and we do well without. My friend over there [pointing to Mr. Singletary] won't think that I expect to be a Congressman, and swallow up the liberties of the people. I never had any office, nor do I want one. But I don't think the worse of the Constitution because lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men are fond of it. I am not of such a jealous make. They that are honest men themselves are not apt to suspect other people.

"Brother farmers, let us suppose a case, now. Suppose you had a farm of 50 acres, and your title was disputed, and there was a farm of 5,000 acres joined to you that belonged to a man of learning, and his title was involved in the same difficulty: would you not be glad to have him for your friend, rather than to stand alone in the dispute? Well, the case is the same. These lawyers, these moneyed men, these men of learning, are all embarked in the same cause with us, and we must all sink or swim together. Shall we throw the Constitution overboard because it does not please us all alike?

"Suppose two or three of you had been at the pains to break up a piece of rough land and sow it with wheat: would you let it lie waste because you could not agree on what sort of a fence to make? Would it not be better to put up a fence that did not please every one's fancy, rather than keep disputing about it until the wild beasts came in and devoured the crop? Some gentlemen say, 'Don't be in a hurry; take time to consider.' I

say, There is a time to sow and a time to reap. We sowed our seed when we sent men to the Federal Convention, now is the time to reap the fruit of our labor; and if we do not do it now, I am afraid we shall never have another opportunity."

Effective as such a speech must have been, the issue hung doubtful for some time over the attitude of Samuel Adams. All classes reposed the greatest confidence in his judgment. For years he had been recognized as the leader on behalf of local self-government as developed in the town meeting, and he was loath to surrender any of its prerogatives to a super-government. For a long time he sat in the convention without saying a word, listening to the explanations made by the friends of the new Constitution. Finally the workingmen of Boston called a meeting at the Green Dragon Tavern to take action on the great question before the country. At this meeting resolutions were adopted in favor of the Constitution, and a committee was appointed, with Paul Revere as chairman, to present a copy of these resolutions to Samuel Adams. After Adams had read the paper, he asked Paul Revere, "How many men were at the Green Dragon when these resolutions were passed?" "More, sir, than the Green Dragon could hold." "And where were the rest, Mr. Revere?" "In the streets, sir." "And how many were in the streets?" "More, sir, than there are stars in the sky."

The whole-hearted support of the Constitution by Samuel Adams was not secured, however, until after he was assured that a bill of rights, which was omitted from the original instrument, would be supplied. Adams, as well as many other powerful leaders, felt that the chief objection to the Constitution was its failure specifically to guarantee individual liberty,—freedom of speech and of the press, freedom in the exercise of one's individual religious belief, protection against the supremacy of the military over the civil authorities, the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and other rights and liberties which were dearly cherished by men of Anglo-Saxon descent who had fought through

the Revolutionary War to uphold the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. Finally a general understanding was reached among the leaders in all the states that a bill of rights would be provided for at the first session of the Congress. This assurance turned the tide in favor of the Constitution, and in due course it was adopted by the requisite nine states and became the basic law of the American nation.

Questions and Activities

1. Make a list of the arguments for, and the arguments against, the ratification of the Constitution.
2. Can you justify the tactics employed by the majority members of the Pennsylvania legislature?
3. Why was the speech of Jonathan Smith effective?
4. Why did Samuel Adams hesitate to approve of the Constitution?
5. Read the first ten amendments to the Constitution and be able to tell the class the main points contained therein.

ODE FOR THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1876

James Russell Lowell

THEY steered by stars the elder shipmen knew,
And laid their courses where the currents draw
Of ancient wisdom channelled deep in law,
The undaunted few
Who changed the Old World for the New,
And more devoutly prized
Than all perfection theorized
The more imperfect that had roots and grew.
They founded deep and well,
Those danger-chosen chiefs of men
Who still believed in Heaven and Hell,
Nor hoped to find a spell,

In some fine flourish of a pen,
To make a better man
Than long-considering Nature will or can,
Secure against his own mistakes,
Content with what life gives or takes,
And acting still on some fore-ordered plan,
A cog of iron in an iron wheel,
Too nicely poised to think or feel,
Dumb motor in a clock-like commonweal.
They wasted not their brain in schemes
Of what man might be in some bubble-sphere,
As if he must be other than he seems
Because he was not what he should be here,
Postponing Time's slow proof to petulant dreams:
Yet herein they were great
Beyond the incredulous lawgivers of yore,
And wiser than the wisdom of the shelf,
That they conceived a deeper-rooted state,
Of hardier growth, alive from rind to core,
By making man sole sponsor of himself.

Questions and Activities

You will need to read this extract with concentrated attention in order to grasp its full meaning. Think upon the following phrases, and be prepared to explain their meaning to the class: "elder shipmen"; "danger-chosen chiefs"; "a cog of iron in an iron wheel"; "dumb motor in a clock-like commonweal"; "bubble sphere"; "wisdom of the shelf"; "sponsor of himself."

THE OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

THE Constitution of the United States is the basic law of both our national and state governments. Including the amendments, it stands today in practically the same form as its makers left it in 1787. Let us see what kind of a government it provides.

First, look at the Preamble. For just as the plan and purpose of a book are shown by the Preface, so the occasion, the purpose, and the ideals of our Constitution are set forth in the following Preamble:

> We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure Domestic Tranquillity, provide for the Common Defense, promote the General Welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The very opening phrase, "We the People," expresses a distinctly new idea of government from the one generally held at that time. In all other countries government centered in the state, not in the people in the state. This was the trouble, also, with the Articles of Confederation. They represented simply an association of the states. The new government dealt not with the states as units, but with the people as a whole. This difference is fundamental and far-reaching. The Constitution established, as Lincoln phrased it, "a government of, for, and by the people." By forming "a more perfect Union" local interests must be merged in the interests of the people as a whole, so that absolute and equal justice to every citizen might be assured. The United States was to have a government to ensure order and peace within and prevent aggression from without, and to make

secure for its people the blessings of Liberty heralded by the Declaration of Independence.

Turning now to the body of the instrument, the outstanding features of the government established by the Constitution are the following.

1. *Our government is a representative democracy, or republic.* In a pure democracy the people within a certain territory meet together to make and administer their own laws, as, for example, in the New England town meeting. When the students in a school are empowered to decide certain matters pertaining to their common interests, the meetings for such purpose constitute a pure democracy. But in a country the size of the United States, it is obviously impossible for the people to act directly, except in a very limited way. They must needs act through representatives chosen by them for such purpose. Moreover, in view of the disorder that prevailed under the Confederation, with no authority to enforce its laws, the makers of the Constitution believed that the only safe way for the people to rule was for them to select suitable men to legislate for the common good. They feared the tyranny of mass action as much as they feared the tyranny of a king. They therefore provided safeguards to protect the minority—to protect the people against themselves—in the way of certain individual and property rights which cannot be changed except by the slow and difficult process of amendment. Thus the Constitution protects the people against sudden and rash changes by a temporary majority.

2. *Our Constitution provides a carefully adjusted system of checks and balances.* The Constitution not only guarantees to the people certain fundamental rights—such as the right to private property, freedom of speech, of religion, and of the press, and protection against unlawful arrest—it also provides checks against the abuse of power by the people's chosen representatives. Our government is divided into three separate and distinct departments: legislative, executive, and judicial. The powers of each

department are specifically limited. Congress may legislate only on matters enumerated in the Constitution. All powers not specifically delegated to Congress are reserved to the states or to the people. The President is the chief executive officer, but he has a limited check on Congress in that it requires a two-thirds majority to pass a law over his veto. On the other hand, the President must have the concurrence of the Senate before he can make a treaty or appoint a public official, and to declare war he must have the concurrence of both houses of Congress. The Judicial Department serves as a check on both the President and the Congress by holding them within the limits of their Constitutional powers.

3. *Ours is a dual government of the states and of the United States.* Under our system each citizen owes allegiance to the state in which he lives and likewise to the United States. Whenever there is a conflict between these two sovereignties, the Supreme Court decides which shall prevail. The proper adjustment of the powers of these two sovereignties has been an ever-present problem since the foundation of our government. It was the subject of a sharp conflict in the Constitutional Convention; it was the alleged reason, if not the real occasion, for our Civil War; and it is today, and doubtless will continue to be in the future, an unsettled problem that is a necessary accompaniment of our country's growth. Before the adoption of our Constitution it had not been thought possible to divide sovereignty in such a way that different governments would move as planets in the same orbit. Despite trying difficulties in working out this plan, the success with which our Constitution has reconciled national supremacy and efficiency with local self-government is one of the greatest achievements in the history of governments.

4. *Our Constitution provides for an independent judiciary.* In all questions arising under the operation of our government, the Supreme Court has the final decision, from which there is no appeal. This Court has well been called "the balance-wheel of

the Constitution." Its power to hold within constitutional limits the acts of the President, of the Congress, and of the state legislatures, is due in large measure to the monumental decisions of Chief Justice Marshall. The Court has at times been bitterly assailed, but it has stood as a Gibraltar against the mad waves of popular clamor, as the guardian and protector of our Charter of Liberty.

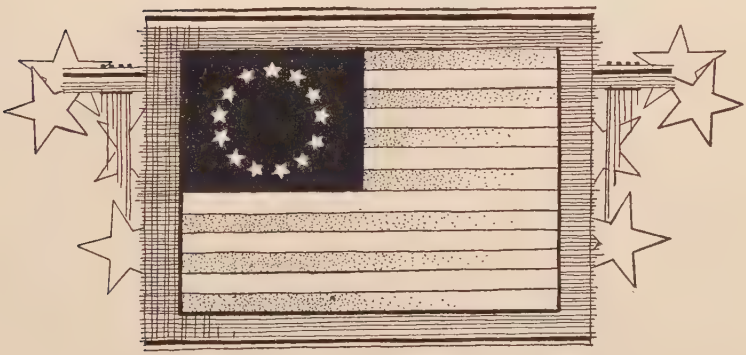
5. *Our Constitution recognizes the individual citizens—the people as a whole—as the source and the beneficiaries of government.* Notwithstanding all the checks which the Constitution places upon the several departments of government and upon the people themselves, it was nevertheless to be a government of, for, and by the people. Our fathers had utterly abandoned the old idea, still generally prevalent in their day and time, that the king or other sovereign was the source of all power, and that government existed for the benefit of the State as a thing apart from the people in the State. The Declaration of Independence, as we have seen, announced principles of government far in advance of the times when they were given to the world: that men have inherently certain unalienable rights, and that to secure these rights governments are instituted that derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The Constitution begins with "We the People," and ends (the first ten amendments being to all intents and purposes a part of the original instrument) with a reservation to the people of all powers not otherwise specifically delegated.

The people made our Constitution, and they can unmake or change it as they desire. The method of changing it, as we have seen, was purposely made a slow and difficult process in order to allow abundant time for due deliberation, for the sober second thought which is necessary for settled convictions and safe judgments. The makers of our Constitution wanted a government that would be safe as well as strong. They wanted to make the will of the people supreme, but they meant to make sure that it

was the real will of the people, not the sudden impulse of a temporary majority inflamed, it might be, by selfish appeals and false alarms. Experience has amply justified the wisdom of these precautions by those far-seeing statesmen of 1787.

Questions and Activities

1. Memorize the Preamble to the Constitution.
2. Explain what is meant by the system of "checks and balances."
3. In what ways does the Constitution "protect the people against themselves"?
4. Debate the question as to whether or not the direct primary for nominating officers should be generally adopted.



THE SPIRIT OF OUR CONSTITUTION

THE main body of our Constitution, consisting of seven articles, sets forth a nicely articulated plan of government. The spirit of the instrument is largely embodied in the first ten amendments, commonly known as our Bill of Rights. These amendments guarantee "certain unalienable rights" that were heralded in the Declaration of Independence. Our fathers were so jealous of these rights, won for them by their Anglo-Saxon forbears through centuries of struggle, that failure to mention them in the original draft of the Constitution was one of the chief objections to its ratification. It was therefore generally agreed, when the state conventions accepted the Constitution, that amendments guaranteeing these rights would be at once adopted. This was accordingly done, and hence the first ten amendments are usually considered as a part of the original instrument.

This Bill of Rights gives a list of important privileges and guaranties that the government of the United States cannot take away from its citizens, or deny to them. We have enjoyed these rights so long that we can hardly appreciate their value unless we think of what we would be or do without them. Perhaps the most important of these ten amendments is Article I, which deals with rights relating to our personal liberty:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances."

This was the first written guaranty that the people of any nation ever had which ensured the absolute separation of Church and State, and permitted all its citizens to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. In America no one

has any right to interfere in any manner with the religious beliefs of another. An American citizen may hold the Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or other faith; no matter—he is entitled to equal protection under our Constitution. Even in modern times it sometimes seems difficult for everyone to observe this great principle of toleration, and this in itself shows how highly important it is to have this provision in our Great Charter of human liberty.

Freedom of speech and of the press are also highly cherished American rights. In some countries the people cannot say freely what they think about their rulers, and they cannot print what they believe about public matters without being liable to arrest and imprisonment. In those countries writings must first be approved by a censor whose business it is to strike out what is displeasing to those in power. Our Constitution guarantees to our citizens the right to speak and print without restriction—provided, of course, that this right is exercised so as not to interfere with the rights of others. No one has a right to spread false reports about persons or things. Slanderous and libelous statements are unlawful.

It seems natural to us today that people should have the privilege to meet peaceably together and ask the government to correct what they think is wrong, but it took centuries for the people to secure this privilege. The American people have enjoyed the right of free public assembly since the foundation of our government, but this right has also its proper limitations. It cannot be employed for the purpose of visiting malice upon others, nor for advocating the overthrow of the very government that grants such right.

Another important right is that of freedom from "unreasonable searches and seizures." In former times an officer might enter a man's house and seize him or his property without giving any reason for so doing. This practice was one of the complaints the Declaration of Independence made against King George III.

Our Constitution provides that no officer may enter one's house to search it unless for good cause as shown by a search warrant. This recognition of the sacredness of one's home we inherited from the Anglo-Saxon principle that "a man's house is his castle." An English orator once said: "The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. The cottage may be frail, its roof may shake, the winds may blow through it and the storms may enter, but the King of England cannot enter. All his forces dare not cross the threshold of that poor dwelling."

Another guaranteed right whose value we little realize is the provision that a person's property shall not be taken from him "without due process of law" and that private property shall not be taken for public use "without just compensation." Security in the title to property that a citizen acquires by his own effort is the basis of all business operations. This right, however, benefits most of all the poor man—for the rich can better take care of themselves. The poorest man in America always has the assurance that the home he acquires by honest toil, and the money he saves for "a rainy day," cannot be taken from him except by judgment of a court of law. And the government itself cannot take his property for public use, such as the erection of a post-office building, without paying him a fair value for it.

Under this provision a celebrated case arose regarding the estate left by the widow of Robert E. Lee. The Lee homestead at Arlington had been sold under an act of Congress, and part of it, under orders of the President, was taken for the Arlington Cemetery. Our Supreme Court held that such sale was illegal without due compensation to the owners. In making the decision the Court said: "All the officers of the government, from the highest to the lowest, are creatures of the law, and are bound to obey it. No man in this country is so high that he is above the law." Thus the President himself was held to strict account in paying for private property that was taken for public use.

There are other important guaranties contained in our Bill of

Rights, but those mentioned come closest home to us in everyday life. These rights and privileges seem to us as natural as the air and the sunshine, and for that reason are often not realized and appreciated. They have been unquestioned in America so long that most people have forgotten the reason for them. But once let these guaranties that are embedded in our Constitution be removed or weakened, we shall learn the reason for them by hard experience. Every one of them has an historical background of struggle and martyrdom. Every one of them places a bar against the oppression of the weak individual citizen. The most friendless and lonely human being on American soil has the constitutional right to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and it is the glory of American self-government that the people have placed constitutional restraints to protect these fundamental rights against even themselves. For a century and a half the Bill of Rights has stood as the Ark of our Covenant of Liberty.

When we view the American plan of government in the large, we find that it has two controlling principles: first, LIBERTY UNDER THE LAW; and secondly, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL.

People living together in a community must have a government of some sort, first, because it is necessary to protect the weak against the selfish and vicious members of society, and secondly, in order that customs and rules may be established for the common good. Without such rules, or laws, liberty is impossible for the people as a whole. Liberty cannot be left free to run wild as each individual citizen may desire. That was the trouble in our country before our Constitution was adopted. The founders of our government wanted to provide for a free popular government, but they knew that there is no such thing as liberty without law to protect it. "Those men stood for liberty *under the law*. They had tossed long upon a wintry sea; their minds were full of images derived from their voyage; they knew that the will of the people alone is but a gale smiting a rudderless and sailless ship and hurling it, a mass of wreck, upon the rocks. But the will of the people,

subject to law, is the same gale filling the trim canvas of a ship that minds the helm, bearing it over yawning and awful abysses safely to port."

Liberty under the law, in turn, ensures that equality of opportunity of which America has always boasted, and which represents a distinct advance over the class distinctions in other countries. In those countries there is little or no opportunity to advance from the class in which one happens to be born. The American system is to give every citizen an equal chance in the race of life. Our doctrine of "Equal opportunity to all and special privileges to none" is doubtless the chief reason for our country's marvelous progress. It has developed in our people, to a far greater degree than is the case under any other government on earth, the qualities of self-reliance and individual enterprise. The American citizen has been left alone, when engaged in lawful pursuits, to work out his own salvation, knowing that his government would ensure to him the rewards of his toil and efforts. The pages of our history are full of examples of those who have risen from lowly circumstances to the highest positions.

We cannot recall too often the story of that poor, lonely boy out in the middle west; born in a log cabin in Kentucky; as a youth clearing the Illinois forest by day and studying at night by the light of a pine knot; entering politics as an anti-slavery champion; serving in the Illinois legislature, and later in Congress; and finally suffering a martyr's death while President of the Republic after he had saved the Union and struck the shackles from four million slaves. And today South and North unite in paying their tribute of respect and honor to the Great Commoner, the "First American"—Abraham Lincoln.

Then we see another boy, driving mules on the tow-path of a canal. The Republic opened for him the doors of school and college, and in due course James A. Garfield, like Lincoln, was called to serve his country as its Chief Executive.

Or, take another example of a different type. He was not born

poor, like Lincoln and Garfield. He could have lived a life of ease with the wealth his father left him; and he therefore deserves all the more credit for his determination to make the most of his talents in this land of boundless opportunities. We see him as a youth, by means of rigorous self-discipline, building up a naturally weak constitution with the strengthening tonic of God's great out-of-doors; then actively devoting himself to the study of public questions and to various forms of public service; later placed in the President's chair, all the while fighting through storms of criticism for what he believed to be for the best interest of his country—and today the American people as a whole have come more and more to appreciate the sterling qualities, the militant patriotism, and the thorough-going Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt.

In response to the message notifying him of his nomination for the presidency, Herbert Hoover said in part:

"My whole life has taught me what America means. I am indebted to my country beyond any human power to repay. It gave me, as it gives every boy and girl, a chance. It gave me schooling, independence of action, opportunity for service and honor. In no other land could a boy from a country village, without inheritance or influential friends, look forward with unbounded hope."

And so, to give each and every citizen an absolutely equal chance in life, to have the door of opportunity open alike to all—this is America's ideal. Franklin K. Lane once commented on this ideal as follows:

"The land that I love is the land in which my soul, my spirit, my life, my ambition can have expression; where I can feel that, although I may be of the most humble origin, yet opportunity will open before me so that I can rise, not merely to place and to power, but to the fullest expression of manhood there may be in me. So that I am not held down; so that no sovereign can put his foot upon me and compel me to a course that is contrary to

the right impulse of my nature; so that, with my neighbor as myself, I may regard myself as rightfully entitled to develop every possibility and opportunity there is in me to serve my fellows, and serve myself and serve mankind . . . Let us resolve to make America such a land in fuller and fuller measure, a land of sure justice and finer sympathy, with a greater love for all mankind, a fuller realization of the hopes of our fathers and of the hopes that are within our own breasts. Let us make America the land of our dreams!"

Questions and Activities

1. Be prepared to discuss and give examples of the statement: "There is no such thing as liberty without law to protect it."

2. Make a list of persons who were born in lowly circumstances and have risen to high positions.

3. What rights and privileges do we take for granted in this country?

4. Debate the question as to whether or not there is equality of opportunity in America today to the same extent that there was in former times.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, GUARDIAN OF THE CONSTITUTION

BORN and bred in the Colony of Virginia, George Washington was one of the earliest men to believe that the many peoples from all over the world who had come to America to live could form a government of their own and be free from the rule of kings. Among all the eminent men who took part in the formation of the American government, Washington, by common consent, stands out as the Father of His Country. His character and talents brought him early leadership of the colonists, and he continued to the end of his life to be looked up to by all as the outstanding leader of the struggling young American nation.

Washington's schooling was limited, for at the age of sixteen he stopped school and went to work to support himself. He received, however, what was then considered a good common-school education. At school he was diligent and industrious. He learned to "read, write, and cipher." He early showed an aptitude for figures and made marked progress in mathematics, but was not so good in spelling and grammar. His reading was rather limited, and in these days many a boy of twelve knows more of books and the world than Washington did at sixteen.

But the country lad who has his eyes open learns a great deal not written in books. In the fields and woods young George was closely observant and gained a fund of information that was afterward of incalculable value to him as a farmer, surveyor, and soldier. He inherited from his brother the estate of a Mr. Vernon, which he later increased by purchase until at his death he owned about eleven thousand acres of the most fertile land in the valley of the Potomac. He learned all about the best methods of farming in those days, and he became known far and wide as the most progressive farmer in Virginia.

This outdoor life developed and rounded out a naturally strong

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physique. In his prime he stood six feet and two inches, of enormous strength, yet agile as an Indian. In his youth he was the best jumper in Virginia and an unrivalled horseman. He dearly loved a good horse, and he exacted for all his livestock the very best of care. Whenever one of his favorite horses was led out for him to mount, he would rub its glossy coat with a white handkerchief, and if it showed any stain there was trouble for the caretaker.

Graceful and commanding in physical presence, with a mind keenly awake and interested in everything that was going on about him, Washington early showed his aptitude for leadership. He was from his youth foremost in all the public affairs of his community—vestryman of his church, magistrate of his township, a member of the House of Burgesses, and commander of the Colony's militia.

Thus it was that Washington, by reason of his industry, economy, foresight, and public spirit, laid the foundation for his later success as a farmer and public man. But his "sound mind in a sound body," his strenuous endeavors and fine business abilities do not account for the great success that he attained. Behind all these things there was another indispensable asset—character. It is interesting to note how, very early in life, Washington gave attention to character-building as something absolutely necessary in and for itself, as well as for getting on in the world.

When a boy in his teens he copied and studied with evident care a list of one hundred and ten "Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation." Some of these rules he may have made up himself or learned from his mother or teachers, others he probably copied from a book that fell into his hands, Mather's *Young Man's Companion.* Here are some of the rules which he wrote in a "round, bold hand" in a copy-book that still exists:

1. "Every action in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those present.

2. "In the presence of others sing not to yourself with a humming noise, nor drum with your fingers or feet.

3. "Sleep not when others speak, sit not when others stand, speak not when you should hold your peace, walk not when others stop.

4. "Turn not your back to others, especially in speaking; jog not the table or desk on which another reads or writes; lean not on any one.

5. "Be no flatterer; neither play with any one that delights not to be played with.

6. "Read no letters, books, or papers in company; but when there is a necessity for it, you must ask leave.

7. "Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.

8. "Think before you speak; pronounce not imperfectly, nor bring out your words too hastily, but orderly and distinctly.

9. "Speak not evil of the absent, for it is unjust.

10. "Let your recreation be manful, not sinful."

The one thought that runs through all the sayings which Washington set down in his copy-book is to practice self-control. He early realized that no one could command his fellow men unless he had command of himself, and this lesson he learned thoroughly and with no little effort. He had, for example, an exceedingly fiery temper, but he learned through a rigorous self-discipline to keep it under control.

"The boy is father to the man," and the life of Washington attests the truth of this saying. His earlier training in service to his community and state prepared him for the wider service to the nation. His patriotic activities were so varied and valuable that the people generally acknowledged him as "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." He won the Revolutionary War, as it sometimes seems, almost single-handed. He was largely responsible for the adoption of the Constitution. And then, contrary to his personal desires, as our

first President he assumed the responsibility of launching the new American government which the Constitution established. During the eight years of his presidency he performed his crowning service to the infant republic. It is difficult, indeed, to see how he could possibly have been spared from such service.

The people generally expected that Washington would be chosen as the first President, and this was doubtless the deciding factor in the ratification of the Constitution by the necessary number of states—so great was the people's confidence in him. Washington was by no means wholly satisfied with the Constitution in all respects, but he at once set himself the task of giving it a thorough trial as a new form of government. His was a difficult task, one which a less patriotic man would have shirked. He must make his own way, for there was no beaten path to follow. To those who saw him take office for the first time at the temporary seat of government in New York City, April 30, 1789, he said: "My station is new, I walk on untrodden ground." He began his term of office with a plea for the preservation of the Union as a whole. "Is there a doubt," he later asked in his Farewell Address, "whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Experience will solve it. It is well worth a full and fair experiment."

There was trouble enough for our first President, both at home and abroad. In the first place, the people in the several states had not yet learned the necessity of national unity, of a central government to deal with matters affecting their common interests. They had little appreciation of the full meaning of the first words of the Constitution, "We, the People of the United States." They thought first of all of their local interests, and there was little or no team work among the states as a whole. They had yet to learn that the Constitution was adopted for the purpose of changing the ineffective government under the Articles of Confederation to a national government that really governed.

Under Washington's guidance there was soon evidenced a

marked progress toward greater national unity and strength. The former group of quarreling states gradually became welded into a real nation. The new government provided by the Constitution established order and stimulated industry. The genius of Alexander Hamilton, as first Secretary of the Treasury, soon placed the government's finances on a sound basis. As Daniel Webster once said of him, "He smote the rock of our national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth; he touched the corpse of our public credit, and it sprang upon its feet." The new government imposed and collected duties upon imports and quickly obtained adequate revenue for its needs. It took over the debts of the several states and redeemed the Continental currency, completely restoring the public credit. The American people, in this new world of freedom and opportunity, went to work with a will, and there began the marvelous growth and prosperity with which our nation has been blessed.

We can imagine with what gratification Washington looked back upon the accomplishments of his administration. At the same time he knew there were dangers ahead, and this thought led him to prepare, as he laid down the duties of his office at the close of his second term, his famous Farewell Address as a guide for the future.

In an address before the Sons of the American Revolution in New York City, February 22, 1921, the late Albert J. Beveridge said in part:

"At the summit of his career, standing on the ultimate heights of experience-tested wisdom, the most august figure of all time, 'alone and unapproachable like a snow-clad peak rising above its fellows in the clear air of morning,' Washington gave for the eternal guidance of the republic the most practical and prophetic chart of national conduct ever drawn by the sagacity and prevision of man—the immortal Farewell Address. The Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Farewell Address—these are the massive and solid corner-stones

on which the American people have builded their national well-being and security.

"No man, no nation, can fully live without the purifying and vitalizing power of a great ideal. Such an ideal cannot spring from unsubstantial fancy, cannot be born of artifice, is never the child of hate. It can only come from the heart of nature, only from fundamental circumstances, only from a just conception of that man or nation's true mission in the world. How is this with America? Her people came from many countries, and are blood relatives of many nations. They occupy a continent midways between Europe and Asia, a situation perfect either for peaceful intercourse or for defensive war. Nature and Providence have placed us on the throne of the world, beyond and above the jealousies, hatreds and ambitions of ancient peoples, if only we will not cast into poisonous foreign cauldrons the gifts of God.

"Our divinely appointed task is, therefore, to create a new race among mankind—a race compounded of the most virile human elements of the old world—a distinctive race, akin to the people of every other nation, yet unlike those of any other nation—a race that shall be known to the world and to history as exclusively American.

"So our ideal is America—America, the impartial and the just; America the beneficent and the free; America the righteous and the wise; America as planned by our fathers and to be perfected by our children; America, the mightiest force for good that ever was or is or will be throughout the earth; America, 'among the nations bright beyond compare,' our only passion and our only love; the America beheld in the exalted and, pray God, the prophetic vision of George Washington."

Questions and Activities

1. Into what definite periods might Washington's life be divided? What did he accomplish in each period?

2. From your own experience, draw up a set of rules for deportment and good manners. How do your rules compare with those of Washington?

JOHN MARSHALL, INTERPRETER OF THE CONSTITUTION

ABOUT one hundred years ago there lived in Richmond, Virginia, an elderly man who used to go to market with his basket on his arm and bring home what was needed.

One day he was leaving the market with his purchases, when he heard some one near him speaking in a loud and complaining manner. It turned out to be a fashionably dressed young man who was holding a turkey in a helpless way and complaining loudly because he could not find anyone to carry it home for him.

"Of course I cannot take it home myself," said the young man. "What am I to do?" He was disgusted and angry with everything and everybody.

The older man stepped up to him and said quietly, "Where do you live, sir?"

The young man turned, and seeing a plainly dressed old man, said to himself, "This old fellow wants to make a little money, so I shall let him carry my turkey." Handing over his burden, the young man said, "You may follow me."

The man addressed did as directed. When they reached the end of their walk, the young man offered his helper a piece of money in payment for his services. To his great astonishment, it was declined. The young man then inquired of someone passing by, "Who is that curious old fellow?"

"That is John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States."

In his astonishment the young man asked, "What made him bring home my turkey?"

"Perhaps to give you a lesson in false pride!"

Another story told of Marshall relates that while he was walking one day with a friend along a street in Washington, they met an old negro who had formerly been a slave of Marshall's father.

The negro, overjoyed to see "Marse John" after a long separation, grasped his extended hand, and the two exchanged cordial greetings and talked over old times.

As Marshall and his friend resumed their walk, the latter said: "How could you allow yourself to pay so much attention to one in the servant class?"

Marshall looked up in surprise, and replied: "I certainly could not allow myself to be outdone in courtesy by a slave!"

These glimpses of Marshall show his modesty, simplicity, and kindliness. He was by nature retiring and unassuming, doing his great work in the world without show or noise. He left few personal letters, and we know less of the man himself, perhaps, than that of any of the statesmen who established the foundations of our Government. But we do know that he was the moving spirit in making our Constitution the supreme law of the land.

How was it that Marshall made our Constitution the "supreme law of the land"? When our nation was in its infancy, there was a great deal of uncertainty as to just how much power the national government possessed. Each of the original thirteen states had been used to an independent government, with little regard to the rights of any other state. After the adoption of the Constitution, each state wanted to retain all the power it possibly could. If a state passed some law which a citizen believed to be unconstitutional, he would take the matter to the United States Supreme Court as umpire. Here it was that John Marshall, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1801 to his death in 1835, rendered an invaluable service to our struggling young nation. In a number of leading cases brought before the Court, Marshall said, in substance:

"The Constitution sets the bounds beyond which the state legislatures, the Congress, and the President cannot go. Within proper limits the national government is supreme over state legislatures. No laws can be passed by the states that interfere with interstate commerce, and neither the states nor the Con-

gress can pass laws that take away from the people, in any way, their constitutional rights to the free enjoyment of their person and property, to freedom of speech and of the press, and the right to a jury trial when accused of crime."

For thirty-four years Chief Justice Marshall was largely responsible for the decisions handed down by the Supreme Court. For this important service he was peculiarly well fitted. He was so sound in his reasoning and so fair to both sides that even those against whom he decided went away satisfied. He had a high sense of justice. He was no respecter of persons. He was fair and square as to both sides of a dispute. Those who brought their differences to his Court knew they would have a fair and impartial hearing. It was these traits which enabled Marshall to hold one of the highest positions in our government. William Pinckney, of Maryland, after listening to several opinions rendered by him, said: "Marshall was born to be the chief justice of any country in which he lived."

At a time when our form of government was not as yet firmly established, Marshall's decisions ensured the sovereignty of the Constitution and gave to our Supreme Court the exalted place it holds in our government. For all time he will be accorded first place among American judges as the interpreter of the Constitution.

Questions and Activities

1. Explain how Marshall had more power than Washington in guarding the Constitution.

2. Read further accounts of the life of John Marshall and make a report to the class.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL'S SERVICE TO OUR NATION*

William Bourke Cockran

IF I were to summarize the service of Chief Justice Marshall to our nation, I should say that on the solid foundation of the Constitution he made power, justice, peace, and prosperity the four great pillars of our governmental system: power by establishing the sovereignty of the general government over the states, thus making it the strongest nation in the world; justice by establishing the dominion of the Constitution over all the departments of the government; peace by establishing freedom of intercourse between all the states; prosperity by establishing the inviolability of private contracts. The decisions of Marshall's successors, without disturbing these pillars, have strengthened them and the stately fabric of government which they support.

Scan carefully the Preamble of our Constitution, and tell me what purpose therein expressed remains to be accomplished—what hope cherished by its framers is unfilled? I know of none. Look around you and tell me if this be an idle boast. Has not the Union been made perfect through the wisdom of the great magistrate who showed its necessity and the blood of the heroes who cemented it? Is not justice firmly established by the unquestioned dominion of the Constitution? Is not domestic tranquillity absolutely insured since perfect freedom of intercourse and trade removes all provocation to hostile acts or feelings between the states? Is not the common defense abundantly provided for by the overwhelming strength of a populous nation

*Extract from an address delivered at Buffalo, New York, February 14, 1901, upon the occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of Marshall's appointment as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

whose every inhabitant would die for the integrity of its soil and the glory of its flag? Has not the general welfare been promoted beyond the wildest hopes of the fathers since the security of property encourages industry to wring measureless abundance from a fruitful soil? Are not the blessings of liberty secured for ourselves and our posterity beyond fear of invasion or danger of abridgment by the effective protection which the judiciary casts over the essential rights of every citizen?

Looking back over the history of this country I cannot entertain a doubt of its security or of its future. While the judicial department remains the depository of our rights and liberties,—the ark of our political covenant,—while the courts remain the inviolable sanctuary of justice, the Constitution will remain the secure foundation of the principles established by Marshall, and this government will continue to be the temple of freedom, the bulwark of order, the light of progress, the supreme monument of what man has achieved, the inspiring promise of the boundless future that awaits him.

Questions and Activities

1. According to the author, what are the four great pillars of our governmental system?

2. What purposes are expressed in the Preamble to the Constitution? Do you think they have all been accomplished?

DANIEL WEBSTER, EXPOUNDER OF THE CONSTITUTION

YEARS ago, in the town of Salisbury, New Hampshire, a boy used to come out and read the Bible to teamsters who stopped to water their horses at the trough in front of his father's farmhouse. The boy was Daniel Webster. He had learned to read so clearly and forcibly that these teamsters listened with great pleasure to the childish eloquence of "Webster's boy." Thus early, Daniel began to show that marvelous power in the gift of expression which was to win for him undying fame as an orator.

As a boy, Daniel Webster was not strong. Like Theodore Roosevelt, it was not until he reached manhood that he became physically robust. Consequently, he was relieved from the hard work that belonged to New England farm life in those days. He spent his time during boyhood in reading the few books within his reach, and enjoying the sports of forest and stream.

In addition to his mastery of the effective oral expression of what he read, Daniel early showed his remarkable faculty of memory. From the few books he had to read, he committed much to memory, particularly from the Bible.

While he was attending the district school, the teacher offered a jackknife as a reward to the pupil who could recite the greatest number of Bible verses. When his turn came, Daniel recited verse after verse until the teacher cried, "Enough," and handed him the jackknife.

Another story of these early years also points the way in which Webster served his country in later life. On one occasion, while in the village store with his father, he purchased out of his scanty savings a large cotton handkerchief on which was printed the Constitution of the United States. He at once set to work and

committed to memory the entire document, which in later life he so nobly defended.

After securing a college education and engaging successfully in the practice of the law, the man who as a boy trained himself to read and recite so effectively, and who committed the Constitution to memory, in due course used his early training in his country's service. Probably no man in our history has wielded such tremendous influence in the public forum. This influence was in large measure directed toward sustaining the doctrine that our Constitution ensured "an indissoluble union of indestructible states."

From the very beginning of our government, the exact relation of the states to the Federal government has been a question for debate, and even yet it is a matter of public concern. The debate at first turned on two opposing theories regarding our Constitution. One theory was that the creation of the Federal government was in the nature of a compact between the states, and that in case a state felt justified in doing so, it could withdraw from this compact. The other theory was that upon the adoption of the Constitution the states forever relinquished to the Federal government certain designated powers. It came about naturally that the compact doctrine found its chief support in the southern states, and the theory of a state's right to secede from the Union finally led to the awful tragedy of our Civil War.

The conflict over these two opposing theories of our Constitution raged with greater or less intensity during the first half of the nineteenth century. During this period the idea of a permanent union of the states found its strongest champion in the statesmanship and oratory of Daniel Webster. In the United States Senate, before the Supreme Court, and upon various public occasions he eloquently opposed the idea that the Constitution was a mere compact between the states, but contended that it was "an instrument of government for a nation." "It is

the people's Constitution," he said, "made by the people and answerable to the people." He denied the right of a state to secede, and declared that the states could no more destroy the Union than the Union could destroy the states.

The climax of Webster's efforts on behalf of an indissoluble union of the states was reached in his famous reply to Hayne. On January 19, 1830, General Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina, in a speech before the United States Senate, bitterly criticized the policy of the New England states in favoring a protective tariff. It was a speech well calculated to stir up sectional feeling. Webster answered it the next day, showing the groundlessness of the attack. On the following day Hayne made a still more bitter attack, not only upon New England, but also upon Webster himself. In the course of this speech, also, he argued for the right of a state to secede from the Union.

It was a masterly effort, and many of Webster's friends, struck by the brilliancy and real ability of Hayne, began to inquire of each other, "Can Webster answer that?"

The next morning, as Webster was entering the Senate chamber, Mr. Bell of New Hampshire said to him, "It is a critical moment and it is time, it is high time, that the people of this country should know what this Constitution is." "Then," answered Webster, "by the blessing of heaven, they shall learn this day, before the sun goes down, what I understand it to be."

It became generally known that Webster was about to make the greatest oratorical effort of his lifetime, so on the morning of this memorable day the Senate chamber was packed to its utmost capacity, both on the floor and in the galleries, all available standing room being filled. In the hush of expectation the expounder of the Constitution arose. Even before he had uttered a word, his splendid personality commanded the attention of the packed audience. His commanding figure, the massive head with its dome-like brow, his strong features and deep-set magnetic eyes, "glowing like anthracite coal," had their full effect even

when he began in low, measured tones. Presently the "Websterian thunder" rolled through the arches of the Capitol, as his logical reasoning, sarcasm, pathos, and fervid appeals to the loyalty of his hearers came in an eloquent torrent from his lips, and his voice rang out like a clarion call to duty.

The effect was not only magical, but enduring, and this speech has gone down into history as one of the most powerful on record. In his closing appeal, which has long been a great favorite for declaiming, Webster said:

"I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

"I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government, whose thought should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but

how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind.

"When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather, behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, 'What is all this worth?' Nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and union afterwards'; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—*Liberty AND Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!*"

Questions and Activities

1. Read further accounts of Webster's boyhood and be able to make a report to the class.

2. What were the two opposing theories formerly held regarding the right of a state to secede from the Union?

3. What were the occasion and the effect of Webster's reply to Hayne?

4. Read aloud the last three paragraphs of this selection in distinct, measured utterance, and with all the feeling and force of which you are capable. You might arrange to speak to the class from memory the closing paragraph.

THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CASE

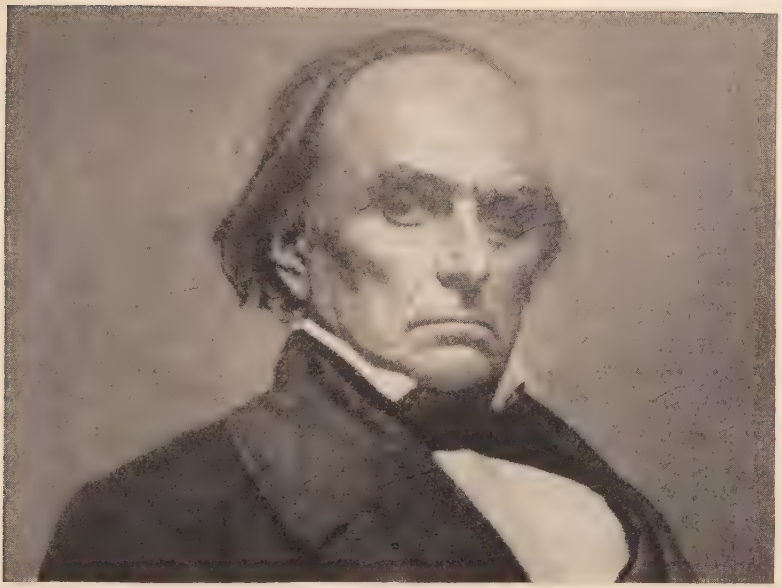
ONE of the monumental decisions in the interpretation of our Constitution was rendered in what is known as the Dartmouth College Case. The legislature of the state of New Hampshire had passed an act changing the charter of Dartmouth College, in spite of the protest of the trustees. The constitutionality of this act was argued before the United States Supreme Court in 1819.

Daniel Webster was the leading counsel for the College, of which he was a graduate. In his argument of this case Webster made one of the ablest and most moving speeches of his life. He brought back to his *alma mater* the results of the training which as a student he received in the debating society.

A number of the most brilliant lawyers of the country were engaged on either side, and were present in court when Webster made his masterly argument. It is related that when he had finished his argument proper, he stood silent for some moments. Then, addressing directly Chief Justice Marshall, he said in that deep and penetrating tone which so thrilled the heart of an audience:

"This, Sir, is my case. It is the case not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in our land. Sir, you may destroy this little institution; it is weak; it is in your hands! I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out. But if you do you must carry through your work! You must extinguish, one after another, all those greater lights of science which for more than a century have thrown their radiance over our land. It is, Sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet there are those who love it."

At this point Webster's emotions overcame him. His eyes filled with tears, his lips quivered, his voice was choked. In broken words of tenderness he spoke of his attachment to the



Daniel Webster

college, and his tones seemed filled with the memories of home and boyhood, of the affections and struggles of his student days. Regaining his composure, he closed with these words ringing in the ears of his listeners:

"Sir, I know not how others may feel" (glancing at those who were opposing him) "but for myself, when I see my Alma Mater surrounded, like Cæsar in the senate-house, by those who are reiterating stab after stab, I would not for this right hand have her turn to me and say, '*And thou too, my son!*' "

The case was won. The Court held that the Constitution will not permit even a state to impair the obligation of a contract.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SAVIOR OF THE UNION

IN REPLY to someone who had asked him for some biographical particulars, Abraham Lincoln wrote:

"I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family by the name of Hanks. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where, a year or two later, he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. My father (Thomas Lincoln) at the death of his father was but six years of age. By the early death of his father, and the very narrow circumstances of his mother, he was, even in childhood, a wandering, laboring boy, and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than bunglingly to write his own name. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. It was a wild region, with many bears and other animals still in the woods. There were some schools, so-called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond 'readin', writin', and cipherin' to the rule of three.' If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood he was looked upon as a wizard. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three. But that was all. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

"I was raised to farm work till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois, Macon County. Then I got to New Salem, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk War; and I was elected captain of a volunteer

company, a success that gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I won the campaign, was elated, ran for the legislature the same year (1832) and was beaten—the only time I ever have been beaten by the people. The next, and three succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the legislature. I was not a candidate afterward. During the legislative period I had studied law and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was elected to the lower house of Congress. Was not a candidate for reëlection. From 1849 to 1854, inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again.

"If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said that I am in height six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected."

This sketch, written in 1859 by Lincoln himself, brings his career down to the time when he was about to become the central figure in the drama of our nation's life. About a year previously, in his famous key-note speech at Springfield, Illinois, accepting the Republican nomination for United States Senator, Lincoln said: " 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

A system of slavery existed in many of the states from the very beginning of our nation, and until six years after Lincoln spoke the prophetic words just quoted. At first slaves were held in all the states then formed. Gradually the more northern states, with their small-farm system, abandoned the practice; while the southern states, with their large plantations for growing cotton, continued to hold slaves.

The question of slavery was left unsettled at the time our Constitution was adopted. The slave trade was prohibited after 1808, but the system itself was left for each state to deal with as it saw fit. It was the general expectation—or at least the hope—that all the states would sooner or later abolish slavery. It was in ill favor with the great majority of those who founded our nation, both in the south and in the north.

It came about naturally, as we have seen, that slaves were held chiefly in the southern states. "The negroes were slaves to the south, and the south was a slave to the system." More and more the question of slavery was made a sectional issue between the north and the south. If men like Lincoln in the north and Robert E. Lee in the south could have had the handling of the quarrel, it might have been settled without bloodshed. But the radicals on both sides stirred up so much ill temper that finally several southern states attempted to secede from the Union, and our nation was plunged into the most terrible civil war in all history.

When Lincoln was called to the Presidential chair, his first concern was to prevent the seceding states from destroying the Union. "My paramount object," he said, "is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery." At the same time, he was a pronounced anti-slavery man. As a young man he made a trip on a flat-boat down the Mississippi, and upon seeing slaves being sold at auction on the wharf at New Orleans, he said: "By the grace of God, I'll make the soil of this country too sacred for the feet of slaves!" He saw clearly that a free government could not continue to harbor indefinitely a system of human bondage. He proposed, however, to do away with slavery in a lawful and just manner. During all the four terrible years of the war, his whole thought and consuming passion was to preserve the Union and the free government which the Constitution created. Thus, in his famous address at the dedication of the Gettysburg battle-field, he said:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation—or any nation so conceived and so dedicated—can long endure.

"We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who have given their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or to detract. The world will very little note nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here.

"It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Upon the occasion of his Second Inaugural Address as President, March 4, 1865, Lincoln preached the gospel of kindliness and charity, appealing for justice and forbearance even toward those with whom the nation was at war. He said:

"*Fellow-Countrymen:*—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

"On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war, all dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it with war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

"One-eighth of the whole population was colored slaves not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

"Neither party expected for the war the magnitude nor duration which it has already attained; neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not

judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully.

"The Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Six weeks after Lincoln delivered this address, he lay dead at the hand of an assassin.

On the bank of the Potomac River, in Washington, stands the national Lincoln Memorial building. It was dedicated on May 30, 1922, after being ten years in process of construction. From the solid rock, fifty feet beneath the level of the Potomac, it rises to a total height of 122 feet. The platform at its base is 204 feet long and 134 feet wide. The proportions of the structure are so fine that its great mass and height and length and breadth are

not realized. Probably nowhere in the world or in the world's history has so magnificent a memorial been erected to a man. Visible in its distant beauty from the Capitol, whose great dome typifies the Union which Lincoln saved, seen in all its grandeur from Arlington, where lie the nation's dead who fell in the conflict, Union and Confederate alike, it memorializes the savior of the Union, who is today as dear to the hearts of the South as to those of the North.

Within the building stands an imposing statue of Lincoln. "It fills the memorial hall with an overwhelming sense of Lincoln's presence, while the mural decorations, with their all-embracing allegory, crown the whole sacred place." On opposite walls are inscribed the Gettysburg and the Second Inaugural addresses. Above the statue, graven in the wall, is this inscription:

"In this temple, as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever."

Questions and Activities

1. What was the Black Hawk War? the Missouri Compromise?
2. Why did not the framers of our Constitution abolish slavery absolutely?
3. How could the slavery issue have been settled without war?
4. Why was Lincoln's untimely death especially unfortunate for the southern states?
5. Memorize Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and the last two paragraphs of the Second Inaugural Address.

SAYINGS OF LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN embodied within himself in abundant measure what we are pleased to call the American Spirit, or Americanism. Lowell, in his poem inspired by Lincoln's death, calls him "The First American." Lincoln has also been called the Great American Commoner. His viewpoint and sympathies embraced the people as a whole. He once said: "The Lord must love common people, since He made so many of them." His abiding faith in the common sense of the people as a whole was expressed in the familiar saying: "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

Lincoln is noted for his mastery of idiomatic, clear-cut English. He framed important state papers in language which the man in the street could readily understand. On one occasion, when he had prepared a message of international importance, to be sent to England, he submitted it to a member of his Cabinet for approval with the remark: "I know that the Prime Minister will understand this paragraph, but will James who opens the carriage door understand it? That is what I want to make sure of."

Regarding his training in attaining clearness of statement, Lincoln once said to a friend: "I remember how, when a mere child, I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way I could not understand. I don't think I ever got angry at anything else in my life. But that always disturbed my temper, and has ever since. I can remember going to my bedroom, after hearing the neighbors talk of an evening with my father, and spending no small part of the night walking up and down, and trying to make out the meaning of some of their, to me, dark sayings. I could not sleep when I got on such a hunt after an idea, until I had caught it; and when I thought I had got it, I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over; until I

had put it in language plain enough, as I thought, for any boy I knew to comprehend. This was a kind of passion with me, and it has stuck by me, for I am never easy now, when I am handling a thought, till I have bounded it north and bounded it south and bounded it east and bounded it west."

Lincoln had little use for round-about methods and wordy reports. Upon receiving a bulky report presented by a committee, he remarked: "When I send a man to buy a horse for me, I expect him to tell me the points of the animal—not to count the hairs in his tail!" He once sent a short, peremptory note to Secretary of War Stanton, as follows: "I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, appointed colonel of a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact color of Julius Cæsar's hair." When urged, in the midst of the war, to change a man in office for one who might do better, he gave the country the proverb: "Don't swap horses while crossing a stream."

On the question of slavery, in one of his early speeches he said: "No man is good enough to rule another man without that other man's consent. I hold that if the Almighty had ever made a set of men who should do all of the eating and none of the work, He would have made them with mouths only and no hands." When charged with advocating the social equality of whites and blacks because he wanted slavery abolished, he retorted: "Because I do not want a colored woman to be my slave, it does not follow that I want her to be my wife."

When Lincoln once made up his mind what was the right thing to do, nothing could swerve him by a hair's breadth from the course he had mapped out. He was a statesman rather than a mere politician. For example, he prepared with great care his "Divided House" speech for delivery before the Illinois state convention that nominated him for a seat in the United States Senate. He took the manuscript of this speech to his law partner, Mr. Herndon, for criticism. "Is it politic," Mr. Herndon asked, "to speak it as it is written?" referring to the expression, "A

house divided against itself cannot stand." Lincoln answered: "I want to use some universally known figure, expressed in simple language as universally known, that may strike home to the minds of men in order to arouse them to the peril of the times. I would rather be defeated with this expression in the speech, and have it held up and discussed before the people, than to be victorious without it." Other close political friends were called in council. They thought his utterance impolitic and sure to lead to his defeat. Lincoln heard them patiently and then said: "Friends, I have thought about the matter a great deal, have weighed the question well from all corners, and am thoroughly convinced that the time has come when it should be uttered; and if it must be that I must go down with this speech, then let me go down linked to truth, die in the advocacy of what is just and right. This nation cannot live on injustice. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand,' I say again and again."

During the four long, lonely, terrible years of the Civil War, bearing such a burden as is seldom placed on the shoulders of a single man, Lincoln used to lighten the gloom by telling humorous stories and using homely illustrations to smooth the way for the accomplishment of his purposes. One day a visitor dropped in to assure him that the Lord was on the side of the Union. Lincoln answered: "I am not at all concerned about that. I know that He is always on the side of the right. It is my constant anxiety and prayer that we shall be on the Lord's side." Another visitor, of noble lineage, called to make application for a command in the Union army. He was detailing a long list of his distinguished ancestors, when Lincoln interrupted him with the assurance: "That makes no difference at all. You will be treated with entire fairness."

When no vital principle was at stake, Lincoln did not use his time and strength in useless contest. "When you have an elephant on your hands," he said, "and he wants to run away, the best plan is to let him go. If a man will not turn out for me, I turn

out for him, and save a collision." To a caller who was urging that a certain line of action must be adopted in order to please the people, Lincoln remarked: "Yes, I should think that if people like that kind of thing, it is just the kind of thing they would like." One day a wrathful governor called to protest against a levy of troops the President had ordered. The visitor came out of the White House smiling serenely. "You must have given him what he wanted," a friend remarked to Lincoln. The President replied: "Not exactly. I knew a farmer once, in Illinois, who had a big stump in the middle of his best field. It was too large to move away, too hard to be split, and too wet to burn. When he was asked how he managed about that stump, the farmer explained that he just plowed around it. That was what I did with the Governor—I plowed around him!"

Lincoln often had his hands full in guarding against the blunders of his helpers. One night a member of his Cabinet expressed regret at not having written a certain letter. The President remarked: "Never regret the letters you do not write—it is the letters you do write that give you trouble." Another official wrote a scathing letter of reproof and submitted it to Lincoln for approval. "That is a fine letter," was the comment, "very fine —says exactly what ought to be said—just the sort of a letter to be put into the files. Now file it away—don't mail it."

In the midst of bitter criticism, with infinite patience and steadfastness of purpose, Lincoln pursued "the even tenor of his way." At the White House one day a delegation of prominent public men were complaining of the commissions and omissions of the administration. The President heard them patiently, and then replied: "Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold, and you had put it in the hands of Blondin to carry across the Niagara River on a rope. Would you shake the cable, or keep shouting to him, 'Blondin, stand up a little straighter—Blondin, stoop a little more—go a little faster—lean a little more to the north—lean a little more to the south?' No,

you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The government officials are carrying an immense weight. Untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the very best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence, and we'll get you safe across."

The practical philosophy of Abraham Lincoln, like that of Benjamin Franklin, is treasured as one of the priceless legacies that have come down to us from the great and good men who helped to make our country what it is.

Questions and Activities

1. After a silent reading of this selection, see how many sayings of Lincoln you can remember and tell.

2. Make a list of the characteristics of Lincoln himself that are shown in these sayings.

3. Find other Lincoln anecdotes and stories and tell them to the class.

THE CONSTITUTION SPEAKS*

Robert B. Tunstall

IT WAS the Halloween of Bookdom, when at midnight all books everywhere should exercise their annual privilege of going forth from their places on the shelves and holding converse with one another. In the mammoth Congressional Library at Washington the low-turned lights were flickering to their end, for when the hour should come the light of learning would irradiate the room.

Unobserved, we stole into a corridor where we could see and hear what went on in the alcove containing books relating to American History and Government. Save only for the ticking of the clock, silence prevailed; and yet it was not quite silence, but rather a hush as of a multitude held in check. The hands of the clock drew closer and closer together. Soon they met, and twelve deep strokes rang through the library corridors. There was a rustle, a murmur, and then a sigh, as of relaxation, as when an audience composes itself to hear a speaker. For you must know that on this day of high festival books are, as always, well-mannered creatures, making and suffering no interruption, but giving ear in orderly fashion to such as seek a hearing.

Slowly and heavily there issued from the shelves a bulky volume labelled, *The American Indian.* "I don't like to complain," he began, rather short of breath, "but I am tired of being thumbed over and then cast aside by these girls and boys who come in here from the schools for supplementary reading in American history. It's time they begin to realize that I had the first right in and to America. Long before Columbus landed on this western continent, I was in possession of it. Some of those who came in after

*Adapted in part from "The Voice of the Constitution: An Allegory," appearing in the April, 1926, issue of *The Constitutional Review.*

Columbus, such as Roger Williams and William Penn, treated me courteously and fairly, but many others treated me with scant courtesy or justice. They robbed me of my possessions without the 'due process of law' that Americans boast of so loudly. Then, because my people were revengeful, these newcomers, with a lofty air of superiority, called us 'savages.' However, as time passed the people generally showed greatly improved manners and treat-

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

ment, and today I am proud to call them 'fellow-citizens.' But I should like to see these young citizens in the schools pay a little more attention to the rights and virtues of the first Americans. That is all."

Then, with noble dignity and with just a suggestion of the pathos of a vanishing race, the American Indian volume resumed its place on the library shelves.

It has scarcely settled itself before another bulky volume came

forth—Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*. "I sympathize keenly with my brother who has just spoken," it began, "for I represent an important chapter in the story to which he refers. We Pilgrims tried to treat the Indians fairly; if we failed to do so at any time or place, it was because we were over-intent, if you please, on the great mission that brought us to this country. There was plenty of room in America for both races, and we were determined to show the world that the Bible was the best Constitution for a government, and enough. We planted the seed of Christianity and religious freedom so deep that it has grown a mighty tree whose leaves are for the healing of the nation, and that even this fast-moving and pleasure-seeking generation has been unable to uproot it."

Then a small, agile volume, beautifully embellished in an eighteenth century binding, descended from the shelves. As it walked briskly toward the center of the room, lo and behold! right before our eyes it assumed the form of a man wearing a powdered wig and knee breeches, and the face bore a perfect resemblance to that of Thomas Jefferson. "You have all known me for a long time," the transfigured volume said. "The Declaration of Independence needs no introduction to this audience, nor do I need to boast in the presence of this brilliant assemblage; the record speaks for itself. However, I do want to say to my esteemed friend who has just left the floor: It is quite true that you did a great work in helping to make America the land of the free, but don't take to yourself more credit than is due you. For you must all look to me as the source of that broad toleration and world-wide view that enables peoples from various countries and holding various religious beliefs to enjoy perfect freedom under a common government."

"That is true so far as it goes," remarked the *Life of Washington*. "You furnished the inspiration for a free government, but the great principles you announced did not create the government itself. The man whom I represent really made you possible. He

and his associates made your Declaration a reality. No wonder he is revered today as the Father of His Country."

"Well and good," spoke up *Franklin's Autobiography*, "but I lay claim to containing the account of a man whose example and counsels constitute a safe guide for the American people without any other government at all."

"Not so fast," said Marshall's *Constitutional Decisions*, "for without the restraint of law, without the power to enforce rules of right and justice, no people can live in real freedom. I point out the way whereby the Constitution governs us in a most effective manner."

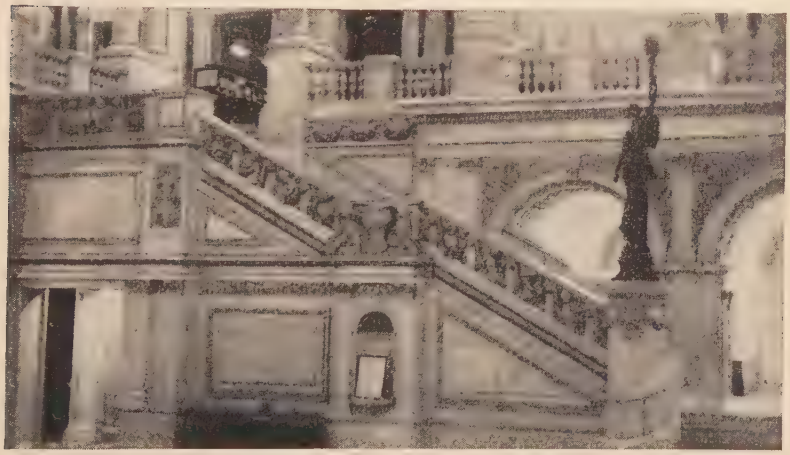
"But how could you exist," rejoined *Franklin's Autobiography*, "without the creation of our government in the first place? If we had not had the Constitution for you to interpret, you would never have been here. I should like to hear from the Constitution itself."

Cries of "Hear! Hear!" re-echoed in a loud chorus from all parts of the alcove. Then, very deliberately, there advanced to the center of the room an elderly volume, exceedingly slight of figure, but with no suggestion of weakness from old age. He wore a late eighteenth century dress, with here and there some more modern additions that were, however, in perfect harmony with the whole. One noticed an almost regal dignity of manner and carriage, and it was observable that even in that most democratic of all assemblages many of the volumes, especially the older ones, bowed. He returned the salutation and simply said: "I wish, brethren, merely to extend my greetings and my good wishes for the coming year. May no unhappy dissensions arise among us."

The voice was amazing, arresting, of a deep organ-like quality that penetrated every recess of the large alcove and even to every part of the immense library. Some of the late arrivals among the volumes, who evidently did not know the one then holding the floor, looked uncomfortable. The speaker bowed again and turned towards his place. Marshall's *Constitutional Decisions* advanced with the request, "Will you not speak to us, Master?"

"What need can there be?" the Constitution replied. "For one century and the third of another have I been with you. Is there aught for me to say?"

"There is always need, Master. The new books come, and they do not always know. Moreover"—his eyes turned to a group of books by foreign authors—"there are those among us not of the Blood. And for the rest of us, we cannot hear from you too often."



The Stairway in the Congressional Library

The Constitution hesitated. Several recent arrivals among the volumes stirred uneasily, and others yawned as though bored by this parley. The hesitation vanished. "Hear, then," rang out that marvelous voice of authority, "hear and heed!" Instantly, as a regiment on review, all the books stood rigidly at attention.

The speaker proceeded: "I speak not for myself, but for the hundred millions and more whom you, my brothers, serve, and whom I protect and defend. I have no need of boasting, but there is both need and necessity that I should not humble or be-

little myself. That belongs to weaklings and children, and I was never a child. Full-grown and strong was I set over this nation, full-grown and strong I must remain lest the nation itself perish.

"I have no master save the people, and my chief servants are those who are set in authority over them. I am the master of my masters and the servant of my servants, for I fix the bounds that my people may not pass and I furnish the chart by which their servants shape their course.

"By power derived from me alone does this nation determine its relations with the other nations of the world. Mine is the strength whereby its armies are levied and its navies ride the seas.

"By virtue of my authority the streams of commerce flow in ordered course, free to all the states on equal terms. Through the Patent Office I reward those who devise useful inventions, and in this very library provision is made that the products of men's brains—such as you, my brothers—shall not go unrewarded.

"With watchful care do I keep sacred the obligation of engagements duly undertaken. With peculiar care do I guard the trinity of the natural rights of man—security of property, the acquisition of which furnishes the incentive to industry and thrift; more important, security of life and limb, without which material wealth is useless; most important of all, the right of liberty, without which wealth, nay, even life itself, cannot bring happiness.

"I am the guardian of the weak against the strong, of the few against the many, of the citizen against the government. And in order that my outstretched hand may never lose its strength, I have brought into being such a judicial system as was never known before. Courts of justice have always existed, but my system is my own; it provides a defense alike for me and for the liberties of my people."

The speaker paused. His whole being seemed to glow with enthusiasm and the pride of conscious power. He continued in a lower but not less earnest tone: "And yet I am not all-powerful,

my friends, thank God; you know that as well as I. For the states existed before I was created; these states form the arches that support the temple of government wherein I am the priest. And within each of these arches is again a temple, the threshhold of which I dare not cross, wherein the common life of the several peoples that form this nation flows on in its wonted way, according to the habit of thought and life of those who severally dwell and worship therein. Thus, in most of their daily affairs, the people repair only to these smaller temples, and have no need to approach my high altar.

"I have spoken, sirs. I thank you for your attention. You have heard from me before, but it seems necessary to say it all again—and then again."

A daily newspaper which had been left on one of the tables arose. "We are of course impressed, sir," he said respectfully (and yet we felt that the respect shown was somehow not altogather sincere), "with what you tell us of your power, but are you not subject to change even as others are? I keep my ear close to the ground, and I make bold to say that the people in recent times frequently fret and chafe under the restraints you impose. They feel that a Constitution made for the stage-coach days when Washington lived is ill adapted for these days of the lightning express, the telegraph, telephone, wireless, radio, automobile, and airplane."

A quick indrawing of the breath, almost a gasp, ran around the great assemblage, but the Constitution stood unmoved. "Your question is a proper one, sir," he replied. "Of the future I cannot speak. The past I know. The people brought me into being. They have in the past made such changes in me as they saw fit. They have full power to make such further changes as they desire. I have only to suggest this: At a time when our people grow impatient of every kind of restraint may be the very time when special care should be exercised to 'remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set.' Up to this

good hour our nation has grown and prospered under those rules of right conduct, those limitations upon despotic power, those guaranties of individual liberty with which the people vested me. Take heed, therefore, I urge, that the changes you suggest be not lightly made. Many years have passed over my head, and while my heart is young, and while I feel that there is within me the germ of eternal life, I cannot predict the consequences if you too greatly alter the structure which has enabled me to live."

The daily paper crumpled and fell to the floor. The Constitution, with firm and unhurried step, resumed his place on the shelves. No other book spoke that evening.

Questions and Activities

1. This story is in the form of an *allegory*. What does that mean?

2. Summarize in a paragraph or two the main points made by the Constitution.

3. Explain these expressions: "Halloween of Bookdom"; "due process of law"; "pathos of a vanishing race"; "not of the Blood"; "the trinity of the natural rights of man"; "these States form the arches that support the temple of government wherein I am the priest."

4. Read aloud all or part of what the Constitution said, using some such tone as you imagine was used when the words were first spoken.

5. You might arrange to have the class dramatize this story. It would be a fine drama for a public program during Constitution Week, or for some other patriotic celebration.

WHAT AMERICANISM MEANS

Daniel C. Beard

THE following catechism is used by the Boy Scouts of America at the Council Fires of the Dan Beard Outdoor School. It is also used by the Boy Scouts at each annual Memorial Pilgrimage to the grave of Roosevelt.

Leader—What is America?

Response—America is the realization of the hopes of the oppressed people of the world since the dawn of history.

Leader—What more is America?

Response—It is an answer to the prayers of down-trodden people since time began.

Leader—What obligation does America impose on her citizens?

Response—To accept responsibility and appreciate the joy of usefulness.

Leader—What is the greatest gift America can bestow?

Response—Citizenship.

Leader—Why?

Response—Because it required the heroism and devotion of a Washington, the vision of a Jefferson, the wisdom of a Franklin, and the soul and lifeblood of a Lincoln, to create it and maintain it.

Leader—What do we believe to be our mission?

Response—We believe that the American people by right living and example are now working out the problems of humanity which will benefit all mankind and eventually free the world from oppression.

Leader—What is an American?

Response—One who upholds the principles of the Declaration of Independence and respects the Constitution of the United States and cheerfully obeys its laws without equivocation or evasion.

Leader—What is the Declaration of Independence?

Response—The statement by our forebears, giving the reasons why we must be an independent nation with friendship for all and malice towards none.

Leader—What is the Constitution?

Response—The foundation principles upon which our government rests.

Leader—How was our nation born?

Response—Out of the hardship, privation and struggle of men, out of the finest ideals of their souls, and the prayers of the world. God furnished inspiration, gathered a people, made them a nation founded on kindliness, endowed it with a great mission, and called it AMERICA.

Questions and Activities

1. Write one paragraph, in which you summarize the points in this selection.
2. You might arrange with one of your classmates to reproduce this catechism from memory, one of you acting as Leader and the other one giving the responses.

WE WHO ARE AMERICANS

EDGAR A. GUEST

WE WHO are Americans have much to dare and do,
The World looks up to us as men who will be staunch and true,
We've crossed the seas in Freedom's name, for truth our sons have died,
And for a better, happier world our peace we've put aside.
By all our brave forefathers were, there is no moment when
We must not live as they have lived and dare to die as men.

The charge lies heavy on us all to walk the world erect,
To gain no single hour of ease and lose our self respect,
To keep our posts, whate'er they be, serving the common cause,
Holding to honor when a trick might win the throng's applause,
Dauntless when danger strikes, and true to what we know is best—
This was the splendor of our past, and this our present test.

We who are Americans must be too big for shame,
We are the guardians of faith from which our glory came.
Ours is a splendor truly won, in us all people trust,
We face the world as men who are great-hearted, firm and just,
And he who fails to serve the truth in high or little place,
Shames not alone himself but brings contempt upon his race.

THE ENDURING HOUSE*

The "boy from Alabama"—Robert Y. Sessions of the Birmingham High School—was the winner of the 1925 national oratorical contest on the Constitution. Do the students in your school engage in this contest? Be prepared to tell the class about its organization and purpose.

I.

THERE awhile back, in hundreds of wide-flung communities throughout America, oratorical contests were held, having for subject the Constitution of the United States, the contestants being boy and girl students of the schools.

Later on those having won first honors in their local habitations assembled in the capital of the nation to meet the supreme test for national prize-winning honors.

The judges of the contest were the high personages of the Supreme Court of the United States, including the Chief Justice. Also sitting with the judges was the Attorney-General. And, lending their gracious and illustrious presences to the occasion, were President and Mrs. Coolidge.

The singular thing about the contest was that it was not a debate. A debate is a thing which has two sides to it. One side in a debate makes a contention which is opposed by the other side. But this contest for prize-winning honors at Washington had but one side.

The contest among these young women and young men of America who had stepped out of the doorways of their schools was to decide which of them could best elucidate the Constitution of the United States and best set forth an analysis of its meaning, its construction, and its history.

They were all agreed upon the Constitution as the greatest

*From the *Los Angeles Times* of May 9, 1925.

document ever written by the hand of man. They were all of one mind concerning its desirability under which a people might be governed. They were all of one faith as to its durability and the advisability of its retention and continuance as the Magna Charta of the greatest nation that has, up until this time, existed upon the face of the earth.

Who, therefore, among the almost innumerable host of schoolboys and schoolgirls in America could best and most eloquently put upon the Constitution its lasting crown of glory?

This was the contest.

II.

And who were they who entered the tourney with lifted lances and shining shields to win the victor's trophy?

They came from everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land; from the traditional little red schoolhouse in the isolations of country places; from the great stately schools of vast cities; from the north, the south, the east, and the west did they come, representing in their bright and eager personalities the melting pot of the republic and the seething evolutions of its history from the very beginning of our national life down to the present hour. They came with the blood of all the races in their veins, and with all the traditions of all the people of the earth surging and throbbing in their hearts and in their souls. They were as cosmopolitan as the wide world itself. All classes and all creeds stood forth before the eyes of men as they struck their bright lances the one against the other in that glamorous arena of oratorical splendor.

The one who stood highest among them all was a Protestant boy from Alabama; second to him and having crowded him for every hard-won inch of glory was a Catholic boy from Los Angeles; and third in line, but so close to the other two that it was hard to discern whether he were first or last, was a Jewish lad from Iowa.

WINNERS IN THE NATIONAL ORATORICAL CONTEST ON THE CONSTITUTION, STANDING WITH PRESIDENT COOLIDGE ON THE WHITE HOUSE LAWN

And there they stood, these three wonderful boys, shoulder to shoulder, elbow touching elbow, the heart of each one throbbing warmly against the heart of the others, representing in their persons the melting pot of America.

And they stood representing each in himself the varied and age-old antagonisms of earth, harmonized and reconciled at last under the all-sheltering roof of the enduring house of the Constitution.

Under the strong gray rafters and the wide-flung eaves of that house had all these ancient antagonisms of man at last found a common resting place wherein the weapons of immemorable hatreds and misunderstandings could be thrown away forever, never again to be stained with blood or to be drawn in the red folly of needless strife.

It was, perhaps, from every conceivable point of view quite the most momentous and vital event that history has had occasion to write upon its pages during the past 2000 years.

III.

Addressing the contestants and the audience assembled, the President of the United States said that "These young people of today, who will be the citizens of tomorrow, have had their thoughts directed to the basic things which concern the framing of society. Our nation has a weighty responsibility, not only for maintaining its own welfare, liberties and power, but for the utmost possible contribution toward organizing the nations and peoples in the aspirations and the ways of peace."

And when the President had set forth this clear enunciation of the contest, in what manner was it that the champions vied in golden words against one another in the expressions of their fealty and their faith?

"Ladies and gentlemen," said the boy from Alabama, "in all the splendor of its achievement the twentieth century is here—and the old Ship of State is proudly sailing on. The Constitution

went into effect 136 years ago, during which time there has surely been enough to test its fiber. Since that time this country has passed through the fires of a civil war and established once and for all the fact that this is a union of States 'one and inseparable.' The thirteen states, with a population of 3,500,000, have grown to forty-eight states with a population of more than 100,000,000. Yet the Constitution as it stands today, though it has been molded by judicial interpretation and broadened by usage and amendments to keep pace with the step of a mighty growing nation, is the same Constitution in its sacred guarantee of individual liberty."

Said the boy from California: "There are men and women now living under the protection of the flag and sharing in the blessings of its freedom and its peace who seek not to preserve but to destroy the Constitution. Such as these understand neither American aspirations nor American ideals. They do not hold at their full worth those precious principles which are the fruit of a thousand years' struggle for human rights. They have never caught the spirit of the bold barons of Runnymede, or of the ragged heroes of Valley Forge, Yorktown, and Saratoga. They have never marched in the vanguard of liberty along the steep and rugged highway of freedom, of which Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the Immortal Declaration are the mighty mileposts. Let no impious hands profane the American Ark of the Covenant; let only true patriots stand sentinel at the gates lest traitors, masquerading under the banners of reform, be allowed to pass by and destroy the American Temple of Freedom."

Said the Jewish lad from Iowa: "The Constitution of the United States is the model for all the world. It reaches back past the revolutions of France, the monarchies of Germany and Russia, the tyrannies of England and Spain, and comes down to us today, having outlived them all, strengthened through their failures and standing out as our guarantor of justice, equality, freedom, and democracy."

IV.

How superbly have these young fellows out of America's melting pot set forth the glory and the immortality of the Constitution!

With what bright ring of words and golden eloquence have they hallowed the deathless endeavors of the fathers of the republic who set forth with sure and steady vision the greatest and most enduring Bill of Rights mankind has ever had.

Through the wide-flung communities of America, from first to last, more than 1,500,000 boys and girls took part in these contests of oratory with the Constitution for a theme. And, as President Coolidge well stated, these contestants are "the citizenry of tomorrow." It is they who will have the keeping of the Ark of the Covenant in their hands. And we may be sure that they will not be faithless to their trust.

The twentieth century has come and will pass. Centuries more will come and will pass again to be folded away in the dim mists of time and the dust of all the countless yesterdays. But that great and holy Bill of Rights which was signed by the hands and seals of the fathers of this republic in the old Statehouse at Philadelphia 136 years ago will still endure.

The time will never come when the unclean hands of traitors will be permitted to destroy it. The day will never dawn when ignorance and hatred shall be potent to rend its sacred pages asunder. Under all God's wide-flung heavens there stands at least one enduring house—America.

GUARD THE CONSTITUTION

ARCHIBALD HOPKINS

WITH wisdom and with patient skill
Wide learning and profoundest thought,
With zealous, consecrated will
Our patriotic fathers wrought.

They laid foundations deep and wide,
They made their own immortal plan,
And reared on lines before untried,
A home for freedom and for man.

They fortified each sacred right,
They shielded all from fraud or wrong,
They curbed the power of selfish might,
And armed the weak against the strong.

First and alone in all the earth
They made their structure's corner stone
Not privilege or wealth or birth,
But every one to manhood grown.

Ordained that all had rights inborn
No governmental power can reach!
Then dawned true freedom's natal morn,
Free men, free schools, free press, free speech.

Upon themselves they put restraint
Lest hasty passion, given range,
Should silence reason with complaint,
And bring some needless harmful change.

The Constitution: still it stands
August, majestic, lofty, lone;

No fabric wrought by human hands
Such strength and symmetry has shown.

The Constitution: there it towers
A beacon in a storm-tossed world;
And peace will reign with all the powers,
When they like banners have unfurled.

We love the men who gave it birth,
We venerate its every clause;
Benign protector of the hearth,
Stern guardian of the country's laws.

To us belongs the pious task
To ward from it its gathering foes,
Both those who lurk 'neath friendship's mask
And those who deal it hostile blows.

To teach all dwellers in the land
Its meaning and its power to bless,
That our republic safe may stand
Through every threat'ning storm and stress.

Supernal wisdom's guiding ray,
Sought by the founders, on them fell;
God of our fathers, hear us pray:
Guard Thou our Constitution well.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE ORIENT

VISITORS to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco in 1915 saw many things to remind them of the people who live in a far-away group of islands in the Pacific Ocean. The exhibits from the Philippine schools especially excited one's interest. There were copy books and drawings by boys and girls in the elementary grades, utensils and furniture made by pupils in the trade schools, and highly interesting exhibits showing the work in the various departments of the University of the Philippines. The visitor saw Filipino women weaving beautiful rugs out of native grasses. But most interesting of all—because they were heard as well as seen—were the boys, sixteen to twenty years of age, who made up the Filipino Band. Their daily concerts were greatly enjoyed by thousands of visitors.

Let us in imagination go with these boys as they return to their homes—westward from San Francisco over the broad expanse of the Pacific. After covering a distance of two thousand miles, they stop for a day at Honolulu, the capital of another group of islands over whose public buildings flies the American flag. On westward their ship proceeds nearly four thousand miles farther, into the harbor of Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands. After a scrutiny by American custom officials, they proceed to their several homes, where parents and neighbors are for many days entertained with stories of their trip to the protecting nation, the Big Brother way off yonder across the Pacific.

When the United States came into possession of the Philippine Islands in 1898 by purchase from Spain, some of the people in those Islands were in a backward stage of civilization. They are still, for that matter, although there has been wonderful improvement under American rule. One-eighth of the inhabitants, consisting of twenty-seven different tribes, are scattered in the hills

and mountains. Some of these tribes, or non-Christians, as they are called, have strange and barbaric ways.

Dean Worcester, a member of the American governing body of the Islands for twelve years, in 1905 made a tour of inspection among these non-Christian tribes. Four other Americans and twenty-five native constabulary soldiers made up the party. Two friendly Filipinos acted as guides. The party also took along a dog that was very clever at scenting danger and giving warning.

Most of the tribes visited were used to fighting neighboring tribes. They did not seem to know whether to treat these strange visitors as friends or enemies. At one village appeared one hundred and twenty fighting men armed with shields and head-axes (axes for beheading their victims in battle). Into the midst of these armed men the visitors walked, and sat down on pieces of their luggage. One of the guides immediately brought a basket of dirty-looking bananas and placed them before Mr. Worcester. The fruit did not look appetizing to him, so after expressing his thanks, he put the basket on his lap. Instantly the crowd became very restive. From a screened position the guide gesticulated in a manner to indicate that the visitor should eat. "Little suspecting the significance of the act," Mr. Worcester relates, "I hastily peeled a banana and took a bite. To my amazement, there was an instant and obvious relaxation of tension in the crowd. The warriors loosened their grip on their head-axes and began to walk about and talk in a friendly manner."

It was later learned that when the people of one tribe visit those of another, if those visited wish to be friendly it is customary for them to offer their callers salt if they have it, bananas if salt is lacking, and water in the event that neither salt nor bananas are available. If the visitors wish to accept the friendship thus proffered, they promptly eat or drink, as the case may be; otherwise it is understood that they have come for trouble. So after their first experience the members of Mr. Worcester's party knew what to do. Whenever they were met by a recep-

tion committee carrying a bunch of bananas, followed at a short interval by a crowd of fighting men, the visitors knew that this meant an opportunity to decide whether there should be peace or war. "Needless to say," Mr. Worcester remarks, "we voted for peace every time. I ate bananas until it was difficult to find room for more!"

THE LEGISLATIVE BUILDING IN MANILA, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The people whom Dean Worcester and his party visited were, of course, among the lowest in the social scale. In the lowlands and towns, particularly in Manila, the people are much more highly cultured. It is a land of great extremes, also, in topography, soil, and climate. There are some three thousand islands, all told. Some of the larger ones have lofty mountain ranges. Many of the smaller ones are little more than specks in the ocean, serving mainly as a resting place for birds. The total land area is nearly 128,000 square miles. This is approximately the

same area as the New England states with New York and New Jersey added, or about five-sixths the size of California and one half the size of Texas. In some of the Islands there is a wet and a dry season, and in some localities the rainfall is about equally distributed. In the lowlands it is generally hot, while up in the mountains it is delightfully cool.

Into this land of marked contrasts came the United States government just as the twentieth century opened. Our statesmen were called upon to apply the principles of our Constitution to new and untried conditions. On one point all were agreed: that the government of these Islands must be solely for the benefit of their inhabitants. A proclamation by the First Philippine Commission to the people of the Islands declared: "Honor, justice, and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or islands as an object or means of exploitation. The purpose of the American government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people." And in his instructions to the Second Commission, a body authorized to establish a civil government, President McKinley said: "The Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the Philippine Islands."

The present government of these Islands corresponds quite closely to that of the United States. Local self-government has been established so far as practicable. Since ignorant people are ill-equipped for governing themselves, one of the first things the American Commission undertook was the organization of an effective system of popular education. And even before the establishment of a civil government, the beginnings of a public school system were made by American soldiers. Wherever our flag was raised a public school was soon established, soldiers often serving as teachers. In 1901 the Commission provided for the appointment of one thousand American teachers to begin the work of establishing a school system carried on in English. By

the end of that year, seven hundred and sixty-five trained teachers from America were at work in the Islands. One of their first duties was to begin the training of Filipino assistants. Training classes were organized for the more advanced students, and by the beginning of the year 1902 some of the brightest students were able to assist in the work of the lower school grades.

A TYPICAL FILIPINO SCHOOLROOM

These first American teachers labored under discouraging handicaps and hardships. But they found encouragement in the keen desire of the Filipinos for education. The people have willingly taxed themselves to support their schools. And so, in an incredibly short time, the Philippine schools have made marvelous progress. Today there are over one and one-quarter million pupils enrolled in about eight thousand public schools, including over one hundred high schools. Filipino teachers,

some twenty-six thousand in number, now constitute by far the largest part of the teaching force.

If you were to drop into some Philippine schoolyard by airplane, you might easily think that you were at the entrance to an American school. And if you landed when the pupils were at play, you would surely feel at home. Here is a baseball game in progress—for our national game has also been adopted by the Filipinos. It might be a time when an interscholastic meet is being held. There is a large crowd, and the interest is intense. But, withal, these Filipino boys and girls have learned good sportsmanship. They treat their competitors from other schools courteously and they play fair.

Thus are the Philippine schools gradually fitting the people for self-government and "the blessings of liberty." The progress made in popular education since Americans took hold is a record of which all Americans may feel justly proud. And this is not the whole story. America deserves a long credit mark for her treatment of countries more or less dependent upon us, such as Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. Our government has never been guilty of exploiting our dependencies for selfish purposes. Our policy has been to grant the largest measure of liberty and self-government consistent with law and order. All in all, we have in truth maintained the slogan: "*The Constitution follows the flag.*"

Questions and Activities

1. Make an outline of this selection, showing the main topics with which it deals.

2. Explain the meaning of the slogan: "The Constitution follows the Flag."

3. What authority does the United States exercise in the government of Alaska? Hawaii? the Philippines? Cuba? Porto Rico? Panama?

4. Debate the question as to whether or not the Philippines should be granted complete independence.

THE ENCHANTED ISLE

H. A. Martin

The author, who for the past ten years has been a member of the Department of Education in Porto Rico, kindly prepared the following sketch especially for this Reader. As you read it, therefore, realize that Mr. Martin had you in mind while he wrote about "The Enchanted Isle."

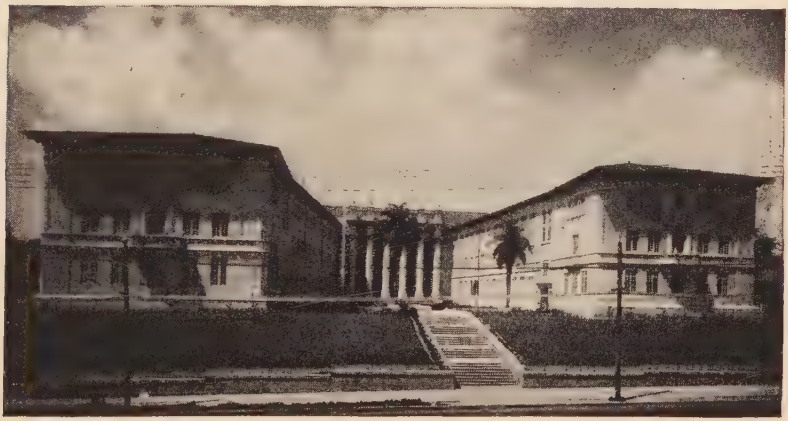
PORTO RICO is frequently called the Enchanted Isle, and it well deserves the title. Visitors who have the good fortune to visit Porto Rico find difficulty in leaving it. If they do leave they are never satisfied elsewhere. There seems to be something in the climate, the atmosphere, and the people that charms everyone who exposes himself. Here is where the old world and the new world meet. One can see the most modern improvements in the oldest possible setting. Still each seems to hold its own peculiar characteristics.

Porto Rico is located about half way between North and South America. For four hundred years it was owned and governed by Spain. In 1898 it was ceded to the United States. One of the most interesting experiments of the present time is being conducted here. Under Spanish rule the people had very little if any voice in the government. Most of the officials were sent from Spain. The United States is following a different course. From the time of the first American occupation the policy has been and is to give the people here the control of the government as soon as they are prepared for it.

At the present time only the Governor, Attorney-General, Commissioner of Education, Auditor, and the five members of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President of the United States. The Commissioner of Education and three of the five members of the Supreme Court are Porto Ricans. The House of

Representatives and the Senate are made up of Porto Ricans. All judges, mayors of cities, and in fact all municipal offices are held by natives. Porto Rico is practically self-governing at the present time. The people were made American citizens by Congress on March 2, 1917, by the Organic Act known as the "Jones Act."

The rapid stride of Porto Rico can be traced to its excellent school system, to the desire of the people for self-government,



Central High School in San Juan, Porto Rico

and their willingness to tax themselves to support the schools. The people recognized that without good schools no progress could be made. And what marvelous progress the record shows! Since the United States took over the Island, the enrollment in the schools has increased from 29,172 to over 230,000 pupils; the number of teachers, from 541 to 5000, and the expenditures for education, from $288,098 to over $7,000,000. There are at present twenty-one high schools and three universities. These figures do not, however, tell the complete story.

In order really to appreciate the growth of education one must live with the people and study them. Even with the rapid growth of educational facilities and the vast amounts spent for education there are not enough schools. September is a sad month for many children and parents. You will be surprised to learn that the children here want to go to school, even fight for a chance of an education. The parents make almost superhuman sacrifices to send their children to school, and the joy of the parents and the children is unbounded when they are finally admitted. Even in the remotest rural sections the parents and children demand an education. The government as well as the people is making great sacrifices, and the time will soon come when every child will be given an opportunity to attend school.

The children here have a unique opportunity, as they study both English and Spanish. All subjects are taught in Spanish, except a class in English, until the fifth grade. From the fifth grade through the high school all subjects are taught in English. You can see the importance of this by looking at the map.

English is the medium of intercourse in the United States, while Spanish is commonly used in Mexico, Central and South America. Porto Rico is frequently referred to as the connecting link between the Americas.

The subjects taught in the eighth grade are English, Spanish, arithmetic, history of the United States and of Porto Rico, civics, and manual training or home economics. The high-school course of study is about the same as taught in the States. Upon graduation from high schools the students either attend universities in the States, to which they are admitted without question, or one of the universities here. Most of the students who attend college do excellent work. After graduation they return to take up their life work here: teaching, medicine, law, engineering, agriculture, government, or whatever they have specially studied. In this way they become the leaders of thought in their community.

A Rural School in Porto Rico

This experiment in education for self-government is having excellent results. The people are wealthier, happier, and healthier. Old Glory waves on high and is respected and loved everywhere.

Questions and Activities

1. Find out all you can about Porto Rico and see if you can justify its title of the "enchanted isle."

2. Imagine yourself visiting the school shown in the above picture. Tell the class what you see and hear.

3. Debate the question as to whether or not our government is suited for governing island territories.

THE CHALLENGE OF HAWAII

RUTH CHRISTINE HOFFMAN

The following sketch, like the preceding, was written especially for this Reader. The author, formerly a teacher in the States, is now a prominent educator in Hawaii. Her message to you, therefore, comes from first-hand knowledge of her subject. Before reading this sketch, it would be a good plan to review in your geography the location and description of Hawaii and of Honolulu.

THAT is a very courageous title, is it not? It is intended to attract attention to what Hawaii has to offer in the way of beauty, and not in the way of combat. And especially what Hawaii has to offer in the way of educating for citizenship, since that is the theme we are most interested in just now.

In Hawaii, as in no other place in the world, is citizenship in its broadest sense most suitably developed, most broadly understood, and most wonderfully lived. Conditions here make it so. For more races mingle than can be found in any other one place. And the very effort to maintain complete accord compels the seeking of inter-racial friendships. Friendships, mind you, *not* dominance.

How do we do this? Perhaps if I were to say, "Through education," your mind would immediately turn to the schools as the most active agency. And perhaps they are, being the most concerned with the education of the citizens-in-the-making. But there are other great forces working hard to coöperate with the schools in maintaining a true standard of right living.

The churches preach good will and understanding as the royal road to friendship, which they consider is the basis of true citizenship. For instance, one church with 1481 members of 30 racial groups, representing 40 different religious denominations, works definitely for "brotherly citizenship," believing that "the chief

business of the Christian church is keeping the soul of the world alive." And this is only one of a number of churches that are striving toward the same standard.

This lovely "fleet of Islands" anchored out here in the Pacific Ocean is a loyal outpost of the United States, and subscribes faithfully to her institutions. No other government in the world could so successfully shelter forty-five nationalities under her guidance and protection, and grant them a share in her activities. And it is because our government offers freely and generously the resources of all her institutions and channels for learning, and shows the value of understanding inter-racial relationships and the folly of antagonistic nationalism, that Hawaii has become a patriotic "melting pot." How? By bringing about harmony through education.

Of course these Islands, justly called "the paradise of the Pacific," offer a natural environment in which to melt out all retarding antagonisms, and put in place of them a desire to live in harmony with the surrounding beauty. Nature has supplied a perfect setting in which to establish friendly relations. The most gorgeous flowering trees, blooming hedges, and shrubs of varied hues are an all-the-year-round pleasure. Flowers, fruits and fresh vegetables are abundantly available at all times and all seasons. Nature has lavished a perfect climate, beauty on every side, and riches of produce on these Islands. Frank L. Kern pictures this in his poem, "Where the Bright Hibiscus Blooms":

Dear Hawaii Nei, nestling on the sunset sea,
  Where all nature greets the tourist with a smile;
The isles of love and beauty, in calm tranquillity,
  With bright hibiscus blooming all the while.

Everywhere in lovely hedges, or hanging o'er the wall,—
  Red, yellow, white and pink of every style;

You may gather them in summer, in winter, spring, and fall.
For they show their brilliant colors all the while.

Would you live in peace and comfort where the healthful breezes blow,
Under palms and trees that smile down from above,
Where a thousand shapes and shades of the bright hibiscus glow,
And balmy breezes warm your soul with love?

Yes, the heart goes back to dear ones from whom I broke away,
As they huddled close around the old house tile;
But I found the "Isles of Paradise" and here I long to stay,
Where hibiscus are a-blooming all the while.

O land of peace and plenty! Of palms and plants so rare!
Your charms entrance and weary hearts beguile;
One longs to stay forever here among these scenes so fair,
And see hibiscus blooming all the while.

Picture, if you will, a typical Hawaiian school located in Honolulu, and call it Kalihikai. I am told the name means "on the edge near the Ocean." The school is built in a series of bungalows containing thirty-four classrooms and extending around three sides of a large campus. Each classroom opens out onto a lanai (veranda) with large sliding doors always open. Opposite these doors are four large disappearing windows, which are also always open, making the rooms somewhat like a pavilion, but protected from neighborly encroachments.

Since Junior High Schools are just now taking their place in the organization of the public schools, Kalihikai has still eight grades. These eight grades direct the early education of about fourteen hundred boys and girls of possibly twenty different races and racial mixtures. And while it is interesting as a process because of the various elements entering into it, in fundamental

principles it is not greatly different from mainland United States.

We have ninety eighth-grade pupils in this school, segregated according to advancement into three groups, each group claiming a "home room" as an anchorage. Three teachers divide the responsibility according to their adaptation, and this adjusts itself very naturally. For instance, one teacher is a Hawaiian woman, with all the natural endowments of that race; a beautiful voice, a thorough knowledge of Hawaiian history, legends, and folk lore, combined with extensive travel and preparation for teaching on the mainland, have made a natural equipment for the teaching of singing, history, and geography. Mathematics and athletics fell very naturally to the man of the trio, who is a Chinese with talent in both lines. His spirit of fair play and good sportsmanship insures a strong coöperation among the pupils.

English and literature were assigned to the haole (Anglo-Saxon) woman of the department. And since I am that haole woman I shall go at once into the story of "Learning to be good citizens in Hawaii," as demonstrated at Kalihikai.

Our principal is a typical Hawaiian, an ardent patriot, broad-minded, ready to try out anything for the advancement of education and always urging high standards of citizenship. He is a leader with a strong sense of justice, but in no sense an autocrat.

Every morning, rain or shine, at the stroke of 8:30 our principal leads the patriotic exercises, in which every pupil from the first through the eighth grade has a part. And whatever else there may be as an exercise, there must always be "The Star-Spangled Banner" and a salute to the flag.

Owing to our language difficulty, we have had quite a percentage of retardation in our schools. "Pidgin-English" has resulted from an effort of the different races to get some medium of language expression. "We no can do" or "me no stop" are gradually yielding to the pupils' own efforts and desire for correct speech. A few picturesque Hawaiian words are in general usage and

A SCHOOL IN HAWAII, AND SOME OF THE CHILDREN TAKING PART IN THE FLAG SALUTE

considered perfectly good form. The word most generally used is "Aloha." This word is capable of expressing so much that it is difficult of interpretation. It means love, good wishes, happy voyage, glad to see you, and all other nice things. It is spoken, sung, expressed in flowers, leis (wreaths), deeds, and all sorts of lovely and loving ways. No word in our English language is half so expressive. "Pau" (finished), "pillikia" (trouble), "wiki wiki" (hurry), "hana hana" (work), and "pupuli" (crazy) are some of the words in common usage.

One very real difficulty encountered in the eighth grade is undeveloped imagination, consequently lack of initiative, and reluctance to assume responsibility. And since these characteristics are most essential to success in life, our great effort has been to develop our pupils along these lines. Perhaps you can best read our story of "educating for citizenship" in an account of some of our activities.

Feeling a sympathy for and special interest in the group of retarded eighth-grade pupils, our great desire was to stimulate along the line of responsibility and effort. As a branch of the public library had been placed in their home room, they set about organizing and taking entire charge of it. Stacks, shelves, and magazine racks were made by boys in the manual training classes, and books, magazines, and daily papers were arranged in the most accessible form. Six pupils each day charge, discharge, check, and collect overdues, giving up their free time both before school and at recesses.

This reponsibility gives them such a feeling of confidence and happiness that when it was suggested that they organize as a Club and direct their own activities more and more, they were quite ready. They organized in the regular way, elected their officers by ballot, invited their English teacher to be parliamentarian, and appointed a committee to submit names at the next meeting.

It is of interest to note that this group elected, by a large

majority, the most overgrown, retarded, and poorest dressed boy of the group. But their wisdom was shown in his strong qualities of leadership. Of Chinese-Hawaiian birth, he soon established himself as a power among his fellow students, and commanded their respect and hearty coöperation.

Another interesting item was the selection of the name "Responsibility" for their Club, even against strong advice. And *they are living up to it.*

Of course the privileges and advantages of club work over class work became apparent at once, and the second group immediately petitioned for a like organization.

This group furnished some of the best possible lessons in citizenship. There is quite a large element with delinquent tendencies in this group, and they rule by just and honest measures or by unjust and dishonest ones. But *rule they will.* So when it came to balloting, a large Chinese boy was elected President by a "stuffed ballot." This was discovered by the honest boys of the group; a second election was held, and an earnest, worthy Girl Scout made president. And in the face of this they selected "Excelsior" for their Club name, proposed by the *morally weak* ones!

The first group soon made their petition for club activities, and selected "Opportunity" for their club name, and committed to memory Henry Van Dyke's poem by that title.

And now the finest kind of friendly rivalry exists among these clubs. Lessons in citizenship meet them daily. They are spurred to initiative, restrained from selfishness or dishonesty, helped to coöperate, and led in untried fields of endeavor. They recognize opportunity, assume responsibility and keep "Excelsior" ever before themselves.

Of course these boys and girls have unusual opportunities for development and advancement in the way of citizenship. On Navy Day an officer told them that "obedience" was the first requisite of a good citizen, told them why, illustrated and proved

his point. On Thrift Day one of our leading citizens proved the various thrift activities to be essential for good citizenship, and even brought Benjamin Franklin in costume with him to substantiate it.

We are living so near to monarchial days and missionary enterprises that every step of education and governmental change can be very plainly and suitably illustrated in fact.

The Governor's Palace in Honolulu, Hawaii

For example, the class in Hawaiian History is just now centering its studies around an Hawaiian project where each step in the life of the Islands is worked out, even to the growing of sweet potatoes, taro, and onions. Cocoanuts are made into calabashes for poi. Grass huts are built, leis are strung, hula skirts fashioned,

and tapa is actually pounded into usable shape for making garments. The students visit the Bishop Museum, where authentic relics and records are found. There are life-sized images of poi and tapa makers, feather capes (formerly worn by kings, and now valued at one million dollars), kapu sticks, kahilis, models of imus and heiaus, all expressing the life of the early Hawaiians. The whole history project at Kalihikai will culminate in a luau or native feast, cooked and served according to ancient custom.

If you are at all interested in Hawaiian History, I think you would enjoy reading the one prepared under the direction of the Historical Commission of Hawaii, and written by Ralph S. Kuykendall. It is most interesting reading, especially as the purpose of the book is to describe the process by which Hawaii became an integral part of the United States. It will give you a pronouncing key as well as an explanation of words and phrases.

Of course we are not unmindful of the fact that we are a most important outpost of the United States. And we are earnestly striving to put a forty-ninth star in the blue field of our flag. Our boys and girls are living the daily preparation for assuming the duties of right citizenship. In order to understand what citizenship is, and just how to become an ideal citizen, our work for this semester is the building of a play called "The State-To-Be."

This play is used as the great melting-pot for language-teaching and for cultivating tastes for good literature; where the democracy of school grounds and athletics teaches lessons of fair play, honesty, and good sportsmanship; in which to seek information as the free gift of libraries, museums, and projects; where the spiritual force operative in affairs is crystallized and translated as an educational force; and the lessons of achievement and success the only lessons worth learning. It shows how all inter-racial standards of behavior are melted into "Do right and do it now"; how all the latent possibilities of each nationality are developed to the fullest extent, and made to contribute to the progress of the Territory; where all Hawaii's best traditions and ideals are made

to serve in teaching the lesson that "Obedience to law is liberty," and that all government in a republic rests upon obedience to law.

Since education is busy finding ways for children to teach themselves, we are staging this play mostly in two fields of activity, imagination and responsibility, as the basis of citizenship.

And now I hear you ask, "How can you make citizens by cultivating the imagination, and what has that to do with making a territory into a state, and what responsibility can we boys and girls take in the affairs of government, anyhow?"

Let me try to prove my point through the activities of this "State-To-Be" play. Of course we will all agree that really to have vision, or forethought or foresight, as it is sometimes called, we must have imagination, we must picture the situation or accomplishment or attainment. In other words, we must have a definite idea or purpose for which to work. That is at once both an inspiration and a guide.

Perhaps it is the language difficulty here that makes the cultivation of the imagination just a little more difficult for our boys and girls than for you on the mainland. It is a fact that they have to work harder in order to possess this valuable asset. But there is one thing that is a great help to them, and that is their attitude toward work. Their business in life is to study and learn. That is nationally so in Japan where they have almost no illiteracy. But the Chinese, whose country has, possibly, the greatest amount of illiteracy, are likewise anxious to learn.

How do we develop vision in our would-be citizens? The boys and girls began by writing descriptions of imaginary trips they would like to take, places they would like to see, and people they would like to meet. Then they personified books of various kinds, magazines, newspapers, trains, boats, automobiles, street-cars, and wrote all sorts of accounts of how these things all work for us, and just what they really do.

Our next step was more difficult, but it has proven to be of the

greatest value. We "supposed" an ideal citizen, analyzed his character, personified each trait, and wrote of just what work each would do in developing the most desirable character.

We entered athletics and personified fair-play, sportsmanship, coöperation, responsibility, honesty, self-control, poise, courtesy, truthfulness, thrift and other personal traits, and applied them in all school activities as well as in the homes and community. We debated "Character versus reputation in relation to success," or "Would you rather win a game by being dishonest or lose it by being honest?" Our club members gave talks on personal traits in their meetings, and quoted literature in support of an argument.

You can see that when it came time to build our "State-To-Be" we had a pretty fair foundation upon which to build. Most of the characters in the play are of the personal trait variety, with history, arithmetic, geography, books, papers, magazines, athletics, churches, corrective institutions, professions, and industries in addition. School and club yells, songs, slogans, and dances intersperse themselves.

Personal responsibility for one's own behavior, effort, initiative, and devotion; for the care of property, personal, school, home, and community; for the conduct of club, school, and other organizations—all develop the responsibility idea and are of great value in teaching citizenship. All assume characters and places in the "State-To-Be" and perform their part in teaching citizenship.

Of course, a knowledge of state organization in both legislative and executive departments is very essential in order that we may know the requirements for which to provide. To that end the Governor and other state officials, and city and school officials all give out information as characters in the play, create interest and inspire to effort by talks on "The Call of Service," "Get Up and Attain," "You're You," "A Community of Interests," "Who Wins," and other kindred subjects.

This play is the vehicle by which we convey to the boys and girls of Hawaii the fact that they are the leaders of tomorrow and must

be prepared for it, together with the how to prepare for *good* citizenship. Our effort here is to mold and direct the education of our boys and girls into ways of understanding each other, ways of fair-play, of justice and honesty and a sympathetic knowledge of the rights of others.

Then, as every effort of our youth all over the world cries out for responsibility for organized activity, we endeavor in every possible way to open up fields of opportunity to "test out." Since they are not only willing but eager to learn civics right on the field of action, we have our Junior Traffic Cops, Boy and Girl Scouts, Four-H Clubs, School Clubs, and various other junior organizations which work up to full strength.

Our boys and girls are taking great pride in the effort to put another star in the flag. They are really coming to recognize that the purpose of education is a process of fitting the individual for work in the civic and social field of progress; that we are now educating the individual for the benefit of society instead of for his own benefit. And they like it better than the old standard of self-centered effort.

Then, too, I believe our youth is beginning dimly to see or feel the spiritual tide in education as that principle which is the active force underlying all true progress; that which brings into service invention, initiative, coöperation, and all constructive ideas. This great underlying principle furnishes a strong current of enlightened thought which is leading our boys and girls on in the direction of better and even better men and women as citizens of a great Democracy.

Questions and Activities

1. What are the aims of these boys and girls?

2. How do the conditions in your school compare with those described in this sketch?

3. Make a list of the suggestions made that you could use to advantage in your school.

THE CONSTITUTION AT WORK

THE Constitution of our country works so quietly that a boy or girl may grow to manhood or womanhood and scarcely realize how it guards our daily lives. In home and school we learn that some degree of government is necessary in order that people may live together in peace and harmony. Your town or city has a certain measure of local self-government. Then, all the towns and communities within a county have county officers —such as the sheriff, the county clerk, the county judge and surrogate, the tax collector and treasurer—who look after the affairs of a county government. Likewise, the combined towns and counties have a state government that makes and administers the laws for the state as a whole. Finally, our national government makes and executes the laws that govern all the states of the Union—the United States.

This general system of government is provided for in the Constitution. It guards the rights of the individual and of the local town officers just the same as it does the Congressmen and the President. But in order to see how the Constitution operates with reference to the nation at large, let us go to Washington and observe the three main departments of our national government at work.

The capital city presents an attractive setting as the central seat of our government, being one of the most beautiful cities in the world. It is a city of magnificent distances and vistas, wide avenues, imposing public buildings, and wonderful parks containing monuments and memorials to outstanding men and events in our nation's history, notably the towering Washington Monument and the imposing Lincoln Memorial.

The location of Washington as the nation's capital was effected, like the Constitution itself, through a compromise of opposing views. Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, wanted

the federal government to become responsible for all the state debts resulting from the Revolutionary War. To this plan the southern states were opposed. Finally it was agreed that Hamilton's plan of assuming the state debts would be accepted provided the national capital were located on the banks of the Potomac. Washington himself selected the site in 1790, and the plan of the City was drawn up on a most magnificent scale by a Frenchman named L'Enfant.

The District of Columbia, which marks the boundaries of the City of Washington, comprises seventy square miles of land on the Maryland side of the Potomac. It is devoted to the business of national government. The President appoints the District officers, and Congress makes all laws for its government, levies all taxes, and decides what funds shall be expended, and how.

The oldest residence in the City of Washington is the home of our presidents. Its cornerstone was laid by President Washington in 1792. It was first occupied by President John Adams in 1800. Originally it was a gray building constructed of Virginia freestone. It was burned in 1814, and its blackened walls, in the process of rebuilding, were painted white. Since that time it has been known as the White House. Although the building has had certain alterations and extensions, particularly during the administrations of Jackson, Roosevelt, and Coolidge, it stands today much the same as when first designed by the young Irish architect, James Hoban.

At the White House is centered the executive department of our government. The President of the United States doubtless has greater power and responsibilities than any other individual in the world. With the growth of our country his duties have so increased that it requires a strong man to bear the burdens of the office. The President must not only execute the laws, but he also has no small part in making them. Following his inauguration, after appointing his Cabinet and a large number of other officials, he must prepare his annual message to Congress, pursuant to the provisions of Article II, Section 3 of the Constitu-

tion, making recommendations of needed legislation. He must supervise the expenditure of large sums of money appropriated by Congress. His time is divided between the vast routine of official business and the constant stream of callers who go to the White House during designated hours. He is the most photographed person in the world, both by the motion-picture and the still camera. The President's mail, also, is the largest received by the head of any government. The daily letters and telegrams frequently run to two or three thousand, but these are for the most part handled by a staff of clerks. Withal the President's chief concern is, of course, the public business. And in addition to his work as the nation's Chief Executive, the veto power with which the Constitution vests him (Article I, Section 7) gives him a power in legislation equal to fifteen Senators and seventy-one Representatives. But he must look to the Congress for the enactment of laws, in the first instance. So let us now turn to the place where the nation's laws are made.

Standing in front of the White House, you can trace the course of the broad thoroughfare, Pennsylvania Avenue, making a half turn around the Treasury Building, then leading direct to the Capitol grounds. Here, on the brow of a hill, stands our nation's Capitol. Visible from every direction, its symmetry, stateliness, and beauty make an indelible impression on the beholder.

The Capitol was the first government building to be erected in Washington, its cornerstone being laid in 1793. Along with the White House it was burned in 1814, but was soon restored. During the next half-century several additions were made to it. Its magnificent central dome was erected during the Civil War. This dome reaches a total height of 307½ feet, and weighs nearly four thousand tons. It is surmounted by a bronze figure three and one-half times human size, typifying Freedom, with the sword of Justice and the shield of Patriotism. The central building of freestone is flanked by two wings of white marble, each with a dome. In the west wing is the Hall of Representatives; in

the east wing, the Senate Chamber. The entire structure covers three and one-half acres, and stands in an ornamental park of fifty acres.

Suppose you are privileged to witness the opening of Congress and to follow the course of a bill until it becomes a law. It is the first Monday in December. A little before noon you secure a seat in the gallery of the Hall of Representatives. At 12 o'clock the House is called to order by the Clerk of the preceding House, who announces the election of the Speaker, or presiding officer, as the first order of business. Of course the political party having a majority elects its candidate for Speaker. A committee is then appointed to notify him of his election and to escort him to the Speaker's chair. The Speaker elect then asks the oldest member in service to administer to him his oath of office. Then you hear loud applause and the clicking of cameras all about you as the new Speaker accepts the gavel from the Clerk. After thanking the members for the honor conferred and pledging himself to perform the duties of his office to the best of his ability, he calls to the front of the rostrum the new members in the alphabetical order of their states, and administers to them their oath of office. The organization of the House is then completed by the election of its minor officers: Clerk, Chaplain, Postmaster, Doorkeeper, and Sergeant-at-Arms.

The Sergeant-at-Arms is the police officer of the House. It is his duty to assist the Speaker in preserving order and to hunt up absent members when requested to do so. The emblem of his authority is the mace, a staff surmounted by a silver eagle, which is kept on a pedestal near the Speaker's chair. If a member becomes unruly, the Speaker may, as a last resort, order the Sergeant-at-Arms to confront him with the mace. This proceeding, however, is rarely necessary.

While the House is in session, you see on the floor of the Hall a number of boys, ranging in age from 12 to 16, moving quietly but quickly here and there, in response to handclaps by members,

to carry messages and do errands of all sorts. These are the pages. They come from various states, and are appointed, upon recommendation of members of the House, by the Sergeant-at-Arms. These boys have, of course, an unusual opportunity to learn of the workings of the Congress and of the individual peculiarities of its members.

The story is told that Sam Houston, when a Senator from Texas, had a page bring him every morning a little bundle of pine sticks which he used for whittling. If deeply interested in the business before the Senate, he simply whittled shavings; if not specially interested, he would carve from the sticks little boats or animals and present them to his friends. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts had a habit of pulling the pages' ears. Upon one occasion, in an absent-minded moment, he caught a page by the ear and proceeded to march him up and down the Senate aisle. The boy, who became a business man in New York, long remembered the suffering he endured before he could make Mr. Sumner realize what he was doing.

After the House of Representatives is organized by the selection of its officers and their assistants, the final step for complete organization is the appointment of standing committees, some sixty in number. A very large part of the business transacted in Congress is done through committees. It would be impossible for the Congress as a whole to consider all the bills that are introduced every session. Even a committee does not consider all the bills referred to it. Some of them are ignored and thus "killed."

Any member of Congress may introduce a bill, or proposed law, except that measures for raising revenue, according to Article I, Section 7 of the Constitution, must first be proposed in the House of Representatives. A member introduces a bill by presenting it to the Clerk, duly indorsed with its title and the name of the member introducing it. The Clerk refers it to the proper committee. If the committee returns the bill with a favorable report, it is debated by the House, perhaps amended, and after a

third reading comes to a final vote. If a majority of the members present vote for the bill, it is sent by a messenger to the other house. If passed by both houses, it is sent to the President. If he approves it, he signs it and it thus becomes a law. If the President disapproves of a bill, he usually vetoes it, that is, returns it with his objections to the house where it originated. If both houses of Congress again pass the bill by a two-thirds majority, it becomes a law in spite of the President's veto. Again, if the President keeps a bill ten days, Sundays excepted, and Congress does not adjourn during this period, it becomes a law at the end of that time without his signature.

While you have been watching the House of Representatives at work, similar proceedings have been going on in the Senate Chamber. Unlike the House, however, the Senate does not have to be organized anew at the opening of a session of Congress. Officers and committees hold over, and the Constitution itself provides for a presiding officer in the Vice-President. It is interesting to note, also, that the Senate has certain powers not possessed by the other branch of Congress. Its "advice and consent" are required to make effective the nominations of Federal officers by the President, and all treaties must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. To this extent it has executive powers. It also has a measure of judicial power arising from its constitutional authority to sit as a Court of Impeachment when Federal officers are tried.

The Senate was intended to serve as a check against the House of Representatives in preventing over-hasty legislation. George Washington called it "the saucer in which the tea of the House brew is cooled." Its rules permit a Senator to talk as long as he pleases. As a rule, Senators are older than the members of the House of Representatives, and they are more staid, deliberate, and conservative in their proceedings. The Senate tends to cling to its old-time customs. In the early days of the Republic, for example, the use of snuff was a common habit, and snuffboxes

were provided at convenient places in the Senate Chamber. These old snuffboxes are still retained even though no one uses them now. Another reminder of the olden days is the sand-duster, which looks very much like a pepper-shaker, used to dust prepared sand upon the freshly written ink to dry it. This was used by the old Senators before blotting paper was invented, and the sand-dusters are still kept filled and occasionally used.

Midway between the Hall of Representatives and the Senate Chamber are the quarters of the Supreme Court. It meets at present in the room which was formerly the Senate Chamber, but plans have been perfected to erect a separate building for the Judicial Department. On each day the Court meets, promptly on the stroke of twelve, the members of the Court, robed in black gowns, headed by the Chief Justice and followed by the eight other judges in the order of their appointment, march from their robing room into the courtroom and take seats behind a high desk. As they enter the courtroom all present rise (visitors being welcome so long as there are seats for them) and remain standing until after the crier calls out: "Oyez! Oyez! The Supreme Court of the United States is now in session, and all persons having business before it should draw near and give attention."

The Court then takes up the cases on its calendar for that day. It first hears the oral arguments of the attorneys in each case. Then the Judges take the printed briefs, or arguments, to their homes and study them. Each Saturday they meet in their conference room and discuss the cases fully and freely. After each Justice has expressed his opinion as fully as he cares to, the Chief Justice calls the roll of the Court, and each member votes on the question or questions involved. After this the Chief Justice assigns to the members of the Court the cases upon which they are to write their opinions. When these opinions are later laid before the Court, the members frequently re-argue a case, criticize the opinion, and often amend it. Then a vote is taken as to whether

or not it shall be read as the opinion of the Court. If there are dissenting votes, those who dissent arrange among themselves as to who shall write the dissenting opinion.

Thus this great tribunal, charged with the duty of making decisions affecting the interests of millions of people, conducts its business in a manner befitting its great responsibilities. One in attendance upon a session of the Court is deeply impressed with the dignity and solemnity of the proceedings. The Judges are appointed for life, and are thus removed from temptations arising from partisanship or the gusts of popular clamor that sometimes sway other officials of our government. Of course it could not be expected that their decisions would always be unanimous, or that everyone outside the Court would always agree with the decisions. But popular respect for the Court has constantly increased since the early days of the republic, and the people have come to recognize more and more what an important part the Supreme Court fills as the balance-wheel in the machinery of our government—as the final authority for maintaining the Constitution as the supreme law of the land.

Questions and Activities

1. Interview some of your town or county officers, and discuss with the class their respective duties.

2. Make an outline of the procedure in Congress, as given here.

3. Compare the above sketch with the first three Articles of the Constitution, and discuss with the class matters not covered in the sketch.

4. Our President now has to deal with a great many matters which did not trouble the early presidents. Make a list of all such matters that occur to you, and compare your list with lists made by other members of the class.

5. Who is now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court?

6. Why does appointment for life "remove the judges from the temptations arising from partisanship"?

YOUR UNCLE SAM

FREDERIC J. HASKIN

EVERY American is familiar with the representation of the the government which is shown in the stalwart figure of Uncle Sam.

He is the most powerful thing on earth—and all the power he has is yours. He represents more might and majesty than all the kingdoms of history—and all this might and majesty are yours. He is the boss of the biggest business in the world—and it is your business.

He reads the shifting winds and forecasts the weather. He marks the ocean lanes to make safe the way of the mariner. He speeds the sure, swift flight of the two-cent letter. He safeguards the perilous task of the miner. He smites the rock and the dead waste of the desert teems with life. He makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before.

He is the conqueror of disease. He is the father of invention. He measures the heat of the stars. He makes the money. He regulates the time. He fixes the standards of weight and measure. He is teacher and lawgiver and judge.

Uncle Sam is not merely a tax collector and policeman. He is the partner of every citizen engaged in legitimate productive activities. He does myriad things to increase and better the product of field, of mine, and of mill. His experts are constantly engaged in solving the vexatious problems of industry, of agriculture, and of commerce. He fosters new enterprises, introduces new crops, and opens up new markets. He improves facilities of communication and transportation. He protects the weak against the strong and unscrupulous. He safeguards the lives and health of his people. He encourages inventive genius and provides wonderful educational opportunities in a hundred lines. In

short, he does everything that human intelligence can conceive to make this a better country in which to live, to improve living standards and conditions, and to add to the sum total of happiness and prosperity.

He does a thousand things in a thousand ways—and he does them all for you. He served your fathers and your fathers' fathers, and he will continue to serve you and your children and your children's children. He is the unselfish, undefeated champion of liberty.

He is your Uncle Sam.

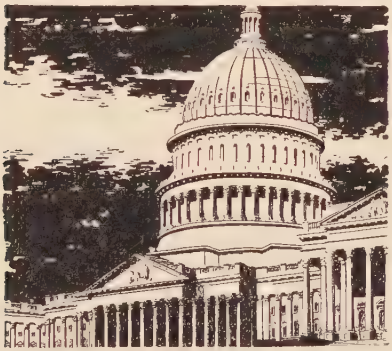
Questions and Activities

1. See if you can find the origin of the nickname "Uncle Sam."

2. Make a list of the things that our government does for us, and be able to give three or four specific examples of the various lines of service.

3. Read this selection aloud, with the ring of enthusiasm it requires. It is a good selection to memorize and deliver as a declamation either before the class or before another audience.

PART TWO



AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE

QUALITIES OF A GOOD CITIZEN

WE ARE apt to think that "citizens" means only grown people who can vote in state and national elections. This is a mistake. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution reads: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." The privileges and duties of American citizenship, therefore, belong to the youth of our country the same as to their elders.

What are the privileges and duties of American citizenship? What do we mean by a good citizen? What are the outstanding qualities which a good citizen should possess?

A good citizen knows at least the elementary principles of the government under which he lives. He knows the plan and purpose of our Constitution. He knows that government in America exists by "the consent of the governed"; that it was established for the common good. It is not something forced upon us by a superior power; it is the voluntary union for their mutual benefit of people who live in contact with each other. It operates under a coöperative plan, and allows every citizen the largest measure of individual liberty that is consistent with an orderly government for the people as a whole.

It is plain, therefore, that our system of self-government requires a fair degree of intelligence on the part of our citizens generally; and the greater the average intelligence, the more efficient the government. Ignorant people cannot well govern themselves. A democratic form of government requires a continuous process of education for citizenship, beginning in school days and continuing through life. Hence it is that one of the most important and the most expensive activities of American government is the establishment and maintenance of free public schools. Our federal and state governments are

together spending over five hundred million dollars annually to provide at least an elementary education for every child in the United States. Our public-school system stands for the principle announced by Mirabeau B. Lamar, when he was President of the Republic of Texas: "Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy; it is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge, and the only security that freemen desire." And from a still broader viewpoint Woodrow Wilson said: "The schoolhouses dotted here and there and everywhere over the great expanse of this nation will some day prove to be the roots of that great tree of Liberty which will spread for the sustenance and protection of all mankind."

A good citizen possesses a sound character and high ideals. Knowledge is essential for a good citizen, but it should be put to good use. A democracy requires straight thinking, and also right acting. "Citizenship is not accumulation of knowledge; it is a way of life." It goes without saying that a good citizen should have moral standards that impel to right conduct, that qualify him for self-government. This is necessary, of course, to make him fit to live with his fellows, and more important still, to make him fit to live with himself. If one does not respect himself, he is not very apt to respect the rights of others. "This above all: to thine own self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man."

James G. Blaine tells this story of President Garfield: "One day we were talking of young men and of what was their great preservative from evil ways, and Garfield said: 'Well, this thought has been my best help. In youth I found out that I had to live with Jim Garfield, and that Jim was sure to know everything that I did or thought, and I didn't want to live with a mean, low, common, vulgar, coarse fellow. I wished to live with a gentleman.' "

Since the character of a school, a community, a nation, is only a reflection of the character of its citizens, it is well to bear in

mind how the influence of a few noble characters may leaven the whole lump. One George Washington is worth more to a nation than all the military conquerors in the world's history; one Abraham Lincoln is worth more than all the titled sovereigns; one Theodore Roosevelt is of more value than all the wealth represented by all our captains of industry. As our President said in a recent address, "The proper development of national character in its citizens should be the main care of Americans."

A good citizen obeys the law. Obedience to law is absolutely necessary for any effective government, whether that of a school, a state, or a nation. Especially in the case of a government such as ours, where the laws are made either directly or indirectly by the people themselves, there can be no possible excuse for law violation. No matter whether a given law may be considered good or bad, it should be observed so long as it is the law. Strict observance will test its worth, and when a majority of those concerned want it repealed or changed, there is always a lawful way for doing so.

We have already seen that all laws come under one of two general classes: first, laws to protect us against the criminally inclined, the outlaws of society; and secondly, and by far the more numerous, those laws that prescribe rules and regulations for the orderly conduct of communities and the larger units of government. The violation of many of the laws in the latter class is not necessarily wrong in and by itself. The wrong consists in disregarding the rights of others to a uniform observance. For example, our traffic laws require us to turn to the right in passing each other on a public thoroughfare. We might just as well have a rule of turning to the left—as, indeed, they do in some other countries—but with our law as it is, turning to the left may endanger not only the violator's own life, but the lives of others. The point is, that laws are for the mutual protection and benefit of all citizens. The student who may break a rule of the school in the thought that he is getting ahead of a

teacher is only deluding himself and wronging his fellow-students. School rules and regulations are not for the benefit of the teachers, but for the common interests of the students.

A good citizen stands on his own feet. The very idea of individual liberty presupposes the ability of the individual citizen to work out his own destiny. Of course, there are always certain unfortunate people, such as those mentally or physically defective, whom the government must care for, but our system of government requires that the normal citizen must take care of himself, and not lean on the government, or become a sponge or drag on society.

After passing through the period of childhood and schooling, the young citizen is met by the challenge: Can you make your own living? This is one of the first duties imposed upon all able-bodied citizens, whether rich or poor. No self-respecting citizen will look to others for his living, and no truly free citizen can. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Find your job, then, and work at it with all the intelligence and energy you can muster. If, unfortunately, you have not yet found your job, work at something, for the working habit is far better for anyone than loafing. Learn to be a self-starter. As one writer puts it: "The one essential purpose of education is to get an individual going from within so he will run himself." Education should enable one to adapt himself to his environment and to master the circumstances of life in which he finds himself—to stand on his own feet.

A good citizen has the spirit of coöperation. He should not only be able to help himself, but also able and willing to help those with whom he is associated. A democratic government such as ours is a coöperative business. It is working together for a common purpose. The government of a school is a coöperative undertaking on the part of parents, teachers, and students to furnish the latter an education. Certain rules and regulations are necessary to have the work of the school go on in an orderly

way. Good citizenship on the part of the students requires their coöperation in observing these rules.

So with persons of all ages and conditions, there is constant need of coöperative effort, otherwise called team-work. A good citizen is a good neighbor. He is considerate, kind, and helpful to those among whom he lives. We live in a day of organized effort. Countless voluntary organizations have been formed to promote what is called the public welfare. Our government also has active organizations for public service which in former times was either unnecessary or neglected. The government safeguards our health by food inspection, sanitary regulations, free medical service, and public nurses. It protects us from danger by fire and from traffic accidents. It furnishes public parks and playgrounds. It cares for orphans, dependents, and the insane. All these activities, and hundreds of others, are for the common good; and without the coöperation of citizens generally, the work would either be ineffective or fail utterly.

The opportunities for coöperative service need not be sought from afar. They are lying all about us. This familiar truth is finely expressed by another in these words: "The best things are nearest—breath in your nostrils, light in your eyes, flowers at your feet, duties at your hand, the path of God just before you. Then do not grasp at the stars, but do life's plain common work as it comes, certain that daily duties and daily bread are the sweetest things in life."

A good citizen is loyal to the persons and institutions that rightfully claim his allegiance. There is no finer word in the English language than *loyalty*. It signifies constancy in devotion, without shadow of turning, to family and friends; loyalty to one's home, school, community, and country. It leads one to say: "This is *my* home, *my* school, *my* town, *my* country; and to the extent of my ability, I am responsible for them."

True loyalty springs from unselfishness. One who has the most intense loyalty to his own home and country freely grants

to others equal loyalty to other allegiances. We admire the Englishman who is proud of the Empire "on which the sun never sets"; the Frenchman, whose living and dying prayer is "*Vive la France*"; the German, who thrills at the mention of his Fatherland; the Italian, whose fondest dream is "sunny Italy"; the Irishman, who knows no land as dear as the Emerald Isle; the Chinaman, who pities everybody born outside the Flowery Kingdom; the Japanese, who gives his sole devotion to the Land of the Rising Sun.

So we, as Americans, pay our first homage and devotion to the country of our birth and adoption. We stand for America, and are jealous of her good name. We are proud of her history. We rejoice that we live in a land of liberty and opportunity. We need no martial airs or patriotic rallies to thrill with loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, for what a country it is that our flag represents! The marvelous growth of America from small beginnings is portrayed by George William Curtis as follows:

"The American people have advanced from the seaboard with the rifle and the axe, the plough and the shuttle, the teapot and the Bible, a rocking-chair and a spelling book, a bathtub and a free Constitution, sweeping across the Alleghanies, overspreading the prairies, and pushing on until the dash of the Atlantic in their ears is lost in the murmur of the Pacific; and as, whenever the goddess of the old mythology touched the earth, flowers and fruit answered her footfall, so in the long trail of this advancing race, it has left clusters of happy states, teeming with a population man by man more intelligent and prosperous than ever before the sun shone upon, and each remoter camp of that triumphal march is but a further outpost of American civilization!"

The spirit of loyalty to such a country calls upon every good American citizen to preserve and carry forward the civilization bequeathed to us by those who have gone before. We are standing today on the shoulders of giants. "The lines have fallen unto us in pleasant places; yea, we have a goodly heritage."

At the entrance to New York harbor stands the majestic Statue of Liberty, holding aloft the torch enlightening the world. Every American citizen has his part in making the message of that statue ring true. "This government," says Henry W. Grady, "carries the hopes of the human race. Blot out the beacon that lights the portals of this Republic, and the world is adrift again. But save the Republic; establish the light of its beacon over the troubled waters, and one by one the nations of the earth shall drop anchor and be at rest in the harbor of universal liberty."

Questions and Activities

1. Who are legally American citizens?

2. How does a person become a citizen by naturalization?

3. Give examples of public service rendered in your community by voluntary organizations and by the government.

4. Write a paragraph, stating in your own words the qualities that a good citizen should possess.

WHY DOES THE NATION PAY FOR THE SCHOOLS?

William McAndrew

EVERY minute of every school day costs money. Who pays it? If you should trace the dollars that are spent for buildings, books, and teaching, you would find them coming from the public taxes. But everybody pays the taxes. The buyer of a coat, a shoe, a loaf of bread pays something more for it because the storekeeper must pay his rent. His rent costs him something more because the owner of the property must pay the taxes. You may readily see that the whole community, those who own no property, and those who own any, pay for the schools.

It is not your father alone who paid for your schooling. Your uncle, your neighbor, those who know you and those who never saw you are taxed to provide the money that educates you. Why?

Because the people decided that they would govern themselves and that as a people, united in a government, they would educate the growing generation in the principles which distinguish the American government from the autocracies of the old world.

There was education before there was an American Republic. There were schools before the Revolution of 'seventy-six. What was their purpose? Was it not to sell to their customers a distinction, a power, an accomplishment by which each educated person might get on in the world and rise above the common herd? But this was not what Washington and Franklin, Adams and Jefferson, and those other founders of free public schools in America, set as the purpose. No such aim can justify taxation of all the people to maintain a school system.

By no means.

The American public school is not for the selfish advantage of each separate boy and girl; it is not to lift them above their fellows. The public school is for the general welfare; to produce citizens who will serve the community in peace as well as in war, who will give their time and their money to public benefit, who will serve on town committees, who will make sacrifices to accept public offices, who will keep well informed upon the public needs and who will create unselfish and patriotic public opinion.

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

TO HAVE an ideal, to believe in it without wavering, to work for it, fight for it, suffer for it, and finally to establish it as a living, growing thing—this is real achievement. And when this ideal is the making of good citizens out of a motley community of boys and girls, the one who achieves it is entitled to the highest praise and honor. Such a man is William R. George, founder of the George Junior Republic. We may call him a citizenship-builder, but to the citizens of the Junior Republic he is known as "Daddy."

He was born in 1866 on a farm near West Dryden, New York, a small village nestling among the hills in the romantic Finger-Lakes country, and not far from the present location of the Junior Republic. When he was a boy fourteen years of age his parents moved to New York City. In his young manhood he engaged in business for himself, that of making jewelry cases. Theodore Roosevelt was at that time Commissioner of Police in New York, and the air was too full of strenuous activities for one of Mr. George's nature to confine himself to making jewelry cases. After studying social conditions in the big metropolis, he decided that he could assist in preventing crime and lawlessness. With the permission of Commissioner Roosevelt, and after being sworn in as a special unpaid policeman, he selected as his territory that part of the city bounded by Eighth and Fourteenth Streets, Third Avenue and the East River.

He rented an old loft over a stable for a clubroom where the gangs of boys might congregate instead of on the street corner. The gangsters were naturally suspicious, and at first few of them responded, but Mr. George had his own methods of securing recruits. Whenever he caught a boy committing a crime—usually some petty offense—he took the culprit in charge, and instead of delivering him to the police and giving him a criminal

record, led him to his loft and practically forced him to become a member of the club. Then he took these young fellows and made them his assistants, and under his guidance they commenced making arrests and following out the plan that he had devised. In due time he cleaned up the entire section, and one was safe to walk anywhere through the streets in what had been New York's worst quarter.

In 1890 "Daddy" sought the aid of the Tribune Fresh Air Fund to give a few dozen of the poorest boys in his club a two-weeks' outing in a camp at Freeville, near his old home. Great interest was aroused in the enterprise, and the "fresh air camp" at Freeville became a mecca for local tourists. The camp was continued during the following four years. By this time Mr. George began to grow discouraged over one bad effect these outings had on the youngsters, and that was the practice of their getting something for nothing. He noted that they more and more estimated their good time in the country on the basis of the amount of clothing and other gifts they took back to the city at the end of their vacation. Both the children and their parents seemed to regard charity as their right. He would have given up the work, but the real poverty in many cases led him to try one more year under a radically different plan.

When the youngsters arrived the next summer, many of whom had been at the camp in preceding years, they were introduced to picks and shovels and other tools, and told that they should work a certain number of hours each working day to help in improving the camp. This plan was not popular with these boys. After a day or two, when the glamor of the new tools had worn off, they refused to work. Mr. George met this refusal with the rule that no boy could receive gifts of any sort without working with the tools provided, and the amount of clothing and produce a boy might take back to the city with him would be in proportion to the amount of work that he did.

There was consternation in the camp. The boys slept on the

rule Mr. George had laid down. They knew him well enough to know that the rule would stand. They did not like the idea of going back to the city empty-handed. Then a veritable miracle took place. They not only went to work, but they became interested in and suggested laws for the protection of the property which they had acquired through labor. Courts of justice in which they took the main part followed; one or two became public officers and zealous enforcers of the laws; grumbling and discontent disappeared and the entire crowd of fresh air youngsters of 1894 returned to New York City happy in the fact that they took back with them property which they had earned by the labor of their hands.

From this experience Mr. George conceived the idea of establishing a self-governing community the following year along the lines of an American village. The inspiration came to him in the thought of a "Junior Republic." He secured a small farm with ramshackle buildings, situated near the former camp, and on July 10th, 1895, the first government of the youth, for the youth, and by the youth was established. One hundred and forty-four boys and girls from New York City were the pioneers. They came for the summer months only, but the experiment in self-government worked so well that Mr. George was loath to give it up, even through the winter months; so, when the time came for the summer campers to return to their homes, he called for volunteers to stay and form a permanent republic. Of the 144 campers, five boys volunteered and became the real pioneers of the Junior Republic.

And it was pioneering of the roughest kind. That first long winter they lived almost entirely on potatoes, for weeks at a time they had nothing else. Most of the time they lacked sufficient fuel to keep warm, and were forced to wear heavy clothing indoors as well as out. The roof of the old house they lived in leaked, and the wind came in through the warped window. That winter the thermometer dropped to 32 below zero.

THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC AT FREEVILLE, NEW YORK

Every day the boys trudged through the snowdrifts to the public school at Freeville, a mile away. After school they worked with Mr. George, repairing their house with the materials salvaged from the other tumble-down buildings. They washed and mended their clothes and cooked their potatoes. Then in the evening Mr. George helped them prepare their lessons for the next day. With the coming of the first warm days of spring they commenced getting the camp in shape for the summer colony.

Thus the George Junior Republic was launched, and during the summer of 1896 plans were made to establish it on a permanent basis.

This Republic is a village exactly like any other village in the United States, excepting that in the Junior Republic the voting citizens are youths of both sexes from 16 to 21 years of age. The laws of New York State and such additional laws as the young citizens may enact in their own meetings are the laws of the Junior Republic. Boys and girls of all classes and conditions of society are accepted. The applicant may come from the city or from the country, from a rich home or from a home of moderate circumstances; a poor home or no home at all; and previous to his entrance to the Republic he may have been good or bad.

Life at the Republic for its young citizens is much the same as it is for grown people in any city of the United States. Citizens live according to their ability and industry. The law is that they must pay for everything they get—the food they eat, the bed they sleep in, and the amusements they enjoy. Time spent in the classroom is counted as labor. They have a Grammar School and a High School, and citizens are prepared for the New York Regents' Examination, which entitles them to enter many of the leading colleges.

The motto of the Republic is "Nothing Without Labor." No one is compelled to work; but if a citizen doesn't work, he loses

standing in the community and is unable to secure the comforts of life. There is plenty of opportunity for everyone to work. The Republic maintains a number of industries: farming, dairying, carpentering, printing, baking, laundrying, banking, storekeeping, etc. Citizens are paid in Republic currency for everything they do. They are employed and dismissed just as grown people are anywhere in the world. If a citizen is lazy or indifferent, he will gradually descend the scale until he reaches the bottom; then, through necessity, he will have to climb up. Often a citizen will go so low that he will have to appeal to the Republic police for help; when this happens he is given a rough bed in the Republic jail, and a bowl of soup with a piece of dry bread.

In the last thirty years 2,000 boys and girls under twenty-one have been citizens of the Junior Republic. A complete town has grown up and the Junior Republic today has real property worth half a million dollars. In the town there are eleven boarding-houses, a church, a schoolhouse, hotel, gymnasium, library, store, blacksmith shop, printing plant, bakery, carpenter shop, laundry, courthouse, jail, hospital, fire department, and the executive offices. The farm consists of 360 acres of ground. There is a herd of forty head of cattle, six teams of horses, a large drove of hogs, and up-to-date farm machinery.

By far the most picturesque feature of the Junior Republic is its system of government. At the age of sixteen a boy or girl becomes a voting citizen of the little commonwealth and is given all the responsibility of a person above the age of twenty-one. The town meeting is the outstanding feature of self-government. It is held monthly and on these occasions new necessary laws are enacted and public policies are discussed.

Not only township functions are operated in the Junior Republic but in certain instances it is necessary to perform some of the higher executive duties of the country and the state. For example, a youth in the Republic convicted of such a serious charge by his fellows that under ordinary circumstances the

Voting for Officers of the Junior Republic

state would take him in custody is handled by his fellows through their own township government.

As in any other community, rebels and agitators appear from time to time among the citizens. Some of them have strong influence and are able temporarily to affect the government. But even when this happens Mr. George will not interfere or allow any other grown person to interfere. This was illustrated in the remarkable and amusing incident of the eight-hour law which was enacted and repealed all in one day.

The agitator was working on the Republic farm, and rebelled when asked to work late in order to save the hay crop. At noon-hour he called the citizens together, made a strong talk on personal rights and got them to pass an eight-hour law for all workers of the Republic. He even got the president to sign the bill immediately, so that it came into effect that day. There was great rejoicing among the citizens. Work would stop at four o'clock and the hay could spoil.

At four o'clock the boys had a baseball game, and at six they were ready for their evening meal. But there was no meal ready for them, and there were no girls about the place to get it ready. Under the new law the girls' work-day ended at two o'clock and they had gone on a picnic. Here was a shock to the agitator and his rebel followers. They hadn't meant the new laws for the girls, but the Junior Republic is thoroughly democratic and all have equal rights.

There was consternation in the Republic and the agitator found himself unpopular. The citizens got together and repealed the new law, which had robbed them of their supper. That night they went to bed hungry, and had plenty of time to realize fully that through listening to an agitator they had been stampeded into making an unwise law. The next day they met again and passed a law making it illegal to vote on any measure until it had been posted for ten days, and all had had opportunity to give it careful consideration.

Some of the hay spoiled, but Mr. George says he would rather have had it all spoil, than that the citizens should have missed learning this very practical lesson. Mr. George holds the right of veto over any law made in the Republic, but he has never exercised this right. He maintains that an unwise law or an unwise judicial action will teach the citizens as much as a wise law, and often more.

After visiting the Junior Republic, Theodore Roosevelt wrote: "Mr. George's theory is that any boy or girl, man or woman, of sufficient strength of character can by practical experience as a responsible and independent citizen be taught, or, to speak more accurately, teach himself or herself, that good citizenship is the only kind of citizenship worth having, even from the individual's own standpoint. The place is a manufactory of citizens.

"A boy who has gone wrong because he has too much steam in his boiler, so to speak, is admitted on a full equality with the boy who has never gone wrong at all; and the most extraordinary thing is that he is about as apt to turn out a first-class citizen, not merely of the Junior Republic, but of the larger republic, the republic of the American Nation, when he graduates into it."

Questions and Activities

1. What problems did Mr. George have to face when he began his project? How did he meet them?

2. How does the Junior Republic compare with the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire girls?

3. Make a list of what you consider the benefits of being a member of the Junior Republic.

THE BIGGEST IDEA IN THE WORLD*

FRANK CRANE

IF ANY inquiring reporter had been snooping about Athens in search of celebrities, he would not have selected Socrates, a disreputable old gossip arguing philosophy with the harness-maker and buttonholing passers-by with his terrible questions. Nobody in the days of the golden Cæsars would have picked out a certain Galilean peasant as the most significant figure of that era. Nor would one in the days of Queen Elizabeth have said that the name of the actor and playwright Shakespeare would live when the nobles and millionaires of that time had gone to "the portion of weeds and forgotten faces."

So in these days when many splendiferous names fill the air, it would take more than Diogenes and his lantern to pick out the man of this generation who is going to exercise the most influence upon generations to come. But in my opinion that man is a modest old school-teacher, lawyer, engineer, whose name is Wilson L. Gill. And why do I select him? Because he has hold of the Biggest Idea in the World. He has given up his life to it. He has not died for it. He is doing better. He is living for it.

That idea is, in a word—the school republic. It is the last word in democracy. It is the very root of democracy. It is that without which democracy cannot persist.

I believe in democracy as the best product of the slow growth of evolution. It means the redemption of the race. Jesus Christ was its first great exponent, and America is its most conspicuous example. Democracy means self-government. It means the people get what they want, and it is the only form of government under which they can. Other forms, such as monarchy, socialism, sovietism, benevolent tyranny, hierarchy, and

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the like, propose to give the people what is good for them. Democracy alone has for its end to give the people what they want. That means growth, development, the ripening of the state through experience.

Gill says: "Begin with the child. Teach him how to govern himself. Make your schoolroom a little United States. Train children in democracy, and when they come out of school into manhood, they will not despise politics. They will take an interest. The curse of politics is indifference. The mother of indifference is ignorance. Train children in self-government! Train them in citizenship! Make every school in the United States a hotbed of democracy. That is your answer to nine-tenths of your problems, economic and civil."

That is Gill's idea. That is why I say Wilson L. Gill is the most significant man in this country today. He is not rich. He deliberately gave up railroad-building and an industrial career that was leading to wealth. He is not famous, except in other lands where they have been more eager to follow his leadership. He impresses you as a timid man, but he is a fearless pioneer, progeny of William Bradford.

"What went ye out for to see? A reed shaken by the wind? But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that wear soft clothing are in kings' houses. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet. For this is he of whom the Spirit of Democracy saith, 'Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare the way before me!' "

Questions and Activities

1. Look up the following terms in a large dictionary and be able to explain them to the class: monarchy, socialism, sovietism, tyranny, and hierarchy.
2. What is meant by the reference to Diogenes and his lantern?
3. Of what passage of Scripture is the last paragraph an inexact quotation?
4. Why does the author consider Mr. Gill such an outstanding character?

THE SCHOOL REPUBLIC

WILSON L. GILL

As stated in the preceding selection, Mr. Wilson L. Gill has devoted a large part of his life to the moral and civic training of youth. In 1897 he successfully introduced his methods in a few of the New York City schools. Soon thereafter he was commissioned by the United States government to establish the School Republic in all the schools of Cuba, then in the government Indian schools, and the schools which are under the direction of the Bureau of Education. More recently he has been engaged in similar work with the schools in Chicago. In response to a request for a story of his plan, he wrote as follows, for this Reader.

TO THE *girls and boys who read this book:* In the midst of the great war, the French government asked me to write to the girls and boys of France, and tell them how to take up their citizenship and how to organize themselves into school republics. Now the author of this book has asked me to do the same for you, and I am glad to comply with his request.

This would be quite useless, unless I should first tell you why this is desirable, and here are the two chief reasons: We have a large number of lawless people in our land, about two per cent of the whole population. Among them are about 65,000 known forgers and fifty-one per cent of them are college graduates.

The other reason is that, although the foundation of our government is that the will of the people, expressed by their votes, shall govern, about two-thirds of the people who are legally qualified to vote are disloyal to that provision of the Constitution which provides that they shall vote.

These conditions, instead of improving, are growing worse and worse every year.

Something occurred in an election in my home city, Columbus, Ohio, defeating a proposed improvement in the schools, which

was so disappointing that I was determined, if possible, to find the cause and a remedy.

These are some of the things that became evident to me: Not half of the people who were qualified to vote did vote in that election. Apparently ninety-six per cent of our college graduates were disloyal to their obligation to vote, and in Columbus there are large numbers of graduates from the eastern and other colleges, and we have two universities right there.

The next point of outstanding importance is that there are two principal kinds of government. The first is natural government. As babies, we cannot take care of ourselves. Our mother takes care of or governs us in love and tenderness. She is our queen, our monarch. Presently we go to school, and our teacher stands in place of our mother. Then we go to work, and the foreman in the shop, or the director in other employment, is our monarch. We are not, in any of these situations, responsible citizens, but we are irresponsible subjects of monarchial government; and when we reach the age of twenty-one, we are utterly unfitted to assume the responsibilities of citizenship in a democratic government.

The other kind of government is democracy. It is desirable, but not natural. To such extent as it exists, it is the result of civilization. It has never been tried on a large scale. In a fully successful democracy, such as Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and their colleagues set up, and the plan for which they embodied in the Constitution of the United States, the will of the people, expressed by their votes, would govern, and the whole people would live in the spirit and practice of the Golden Rule. But the trouble today is that the will of the whole people is not expressed. It is calculated that only one-third of those who are legally qualified to vote will cast their ballots; and many of this one-third who do vote are utterly unfit by reason of their ignorance or their character. As one result of this, we have monarchy in the various forms of boss rule.

Then other facts forced themselves upon me. Here they are. About ninety-eight per cent of the boys in any ordinary school want that which is honest, just, clean, and friendly. About two per cent will break the windows in vacant houses, will steal fruit and tools from their neighbors, deface walls, write improper notes, and do other wrong things.

The ninety-eight per cent want to stop the little rascals, and the only way they think of is to tell some grown person. I soon found that throughout our country and Europe, and now I find that it is the same in Asia, it is customary to rebuff the child who "tells" with this shameful, wicked, crime-protecting phrase: "You are a tattle-tale and sneak! Tell on yourself, but not on others."

Thus the people of all nations are forced to see wrongdoing and are not permitted to do what they can to stop it. That is the root and trunk of strife, crime, and war. The two per cent of wrongdoers form a stream of criminality which flows constantly from early childhood through the schools and colleges, and empties into the prisons and the ten times greater reservoir of unchecked crime. At the present time it is estimated that there are two and one-half million criminals in our country. Criminality is of slow growth. It does not begin in adult life, but in early childhood.

How can we correct these mighty wrongs? Here are several pointers. Democracy can be made practicable by only such people as live in accord with the Golden Rule, that is, "Do unto others as you would wish them to do to you." The spirit of the Constitution of the United States is, of necessity, that which is expressed by the Golden Rule. The Constitution is the supreme human law of government and of conduct for every American citizen, from birth till death. A person's character begins to develop as soon as he is born. By the time he is four or five years old, it is pretty definitely aimed for a certain goal. For two per cent, that goal is prison. Fortunately at that age, and

for ten years more, the character is plastic, but less and less plastic every year. In educating that two per cent, the people are spending eight millions of dollars every year to make criminals more skilful.

Now we can see what must be done. We must conduct every school, including the children in the kindergarten, as a little republic, under the Constitution of the United States, in its spirit and by its plan. Its spirit, as I have said, is such love and friendship as is expressed by the Golden Rule. The chief feature of its plan is that the will of the people, expressed by their votes, shall govern. We must have elections frequently enough to enable all of the children to form the habit of thinking and acting as voters, and we can do this by organizing a school republic.

Suppose, then, that the principal of your school, or someone whom he has invited, is to organize your school into a republic. All the pupils are assembled in the chapel or yard or wherever may be possible. The organizer would first give some such explanation of the purpose of the organization as I have given to you. Then all the pupils are asked to stand who wish to begin their citizenship *now*, instead of waiting till they are twenty-one. Invariably the teachers and all the pupils, including the two per cent I spoke of above, arise. Right then and there this two per cent have left the stream of criminal tendencies, changed the direction of their lives, and started on the road to useful, loyal citizenship and a happy, prosperous life. For every one of that two per cent who has changed his course, the people will be saved twenty thousand dollars every year. That is the estimated average amount that the people of our country pay annually for every criminal.

While the pupils are still standing, the organizer explains that their first act as American citizens must be to give their pledge of loyalty to the Constitution. The pupils raise their right hands as high as they can, and say: "I solemnly promise to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, and

Voting
Friday

to perform the duties of my American citizenship to the best of my knowledge and ability."

Then the pupils take their seats, and the organizer asks them to nominate a girl or a boy to be president of their school republic. Naturally, one of the older pupils will be nominated. Since the choice of a president is very important, the nomination should not be announced unless it meets the approval of the principal, and it does, almost invariably. The organizer tells the one nominated to come to him, so the little children can see who he is that is to be voted for, and says: "All in favor, raise your right hands." The election is almost sure to be unanimous. Then a vice-president is chosen in the same way. These officers are asked to face the organizer, raise their right hands, and take the oath of office that is prescribed by law for officers of the United States government: "I solemnly promise that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States, and that I will perform the duties of my office to the best of my knowledge and ability, so help me God."

The president immediately appoints a chief justice, who must be one that will meet the approval of the principal. The vice-president, acting as president of the Congress (all the citizens together acting as the Congress), says: "The president has appointed John Wise (give the right name) to be the chief justice. All in favor, raise your right hands." The confirmation is usually unanimous. Then the president appoints a secretary of state, secretary of the interior, and other officers when work shall have been found for them to do. They all take the oath of office. The president should appoint general traffic officers, an editor, commissioners to look after paths, to build and look after play apparatus, to construct everything they can think of for the general welfare, and to do whatever needs to be done for the happiness of the pupils and the welfare of the community.

The president should hold a meeting of his cabinet every week, at which time every administrative officer should make a written

A SPIRITED CLASS MEETING

report of what has been accomplished, the present condition, and what more should be done. This may be an "open meeting," that is, in the presence of the whole school. The president should deliver a written report to the Congress every week.

So much for the organization of the school as a whole. It has been found by large experience that not the whole school, but the schoolroom, is the most practical unit of organization. Each schoolroom is organized as a school city. Here is the best opportunity for social and civil service, and for training in and for citizenship. The organization is based on the typical charter of an American city.

No person can acquire the habit of doing anything by doing it once, twice, or three times a year, and one principal object of the school republic is to help the young citizens to form the habit of voting. For this reason, and in order that every girl and boy may have the great benefit of serving in the various offices, the election of mayor, president of the city council, the judge, a clerk for each department—city clerk, clerk of the council, and clerk of the court—should be held every month.

It is desirable to find, if possible, some useful thing for every pupil to do, and to appoint him to some commissionership or other office, such as traffic officer, for this purpose. The city council—all the pupils in the room are members of the council—should establish the offices. The president of the council presides over meetings of the council, the mayor over meetings of his cabinet. The mayor should make appointments, and they should be submitted to the council for confirmation. The council should legislate relative to matters of conduct and constructive work. The mayor should hold a meeting of his cabinet at least once every week, at which each commissioner or other department head should make a report of what has been done, and of what remains to be undertaken. It is desirable, but not necessary, to hold this meeting in the presence of all the pupils in the room.

Groups of school cities, consisting of pupils near the same age, may be organized as school states. The organization is based on the Constitution of the State in which the school is situated.

I have prepared two-minute readings of right social and civic ideas, one for each school day in the week, to be read by all the pupils in the room together, as part of the opening exercises. One of these readings is a code of conduct. In some schools the pupils have voted to commit it to memory, down to "Punishments," and all together stand and recite it every morning. I hope that you and your classmates will do the same. It is as follows:

CODE OF CONDUCT

Chapter I—*Construction and Prohibition*

Section 1. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." All laws and regulations must conform to this law.

Do no wrong to any one.

Order

Section 2. Peace, order, and coöperation for every good purpose must be maintained.

Anything which disturbs the order in halls, classrooms, or in any place within the jurisdiction of this government is prohibited.

Section 3. The expression of good, pure, kind, and constructive thought must be encouraged.

Anything which is profane, rude, immodest, impure, impolite, or unkind to any living creature is prohibited.

Cleanliness

Section 4. Cleanliness, neatness, beauty, and orderly appearance must be encouraged.

Anything which detracts from the neat and orderly appearance of our community is prohibited.

Health

Section 5. Healthful conditions and actions must be encouraged.

Anything which detracts from the healthful condition of our community is prohibited.

Public and Private Property

Section 6. Protection of private and public property from theft, injury, or interference must be encouraged and enforced.

Anything which mars, destroys, or interferes with property rights is prohibited.

Section 7. All reasonable protection shall be given highways. Breaking glass is prohibited.

Chapter II—*Duties*

Section 1. Every citizen is in duty bound to call the attention of the authorities of this government to all known violations of the laws.

Chapter III—*Punishments*

Section 1. Any citizen violating any law of this government shall be subject to punishment not less than a reprimand and not greater than the withdrawal of the rights of citizenship. Punishments must be inflicted to discourage wrongdoing, not to produce unhappiness or disgrace.

Section 2. No punishment shall be carried into execution before it has been approved by the teacher or principal of the school, and then it must be put into effect promptly. It is to be expected that all citizens will obey the law, and that there will be no occasion for punishing any person.

Boys and girls who do wrong things are far more good than they are bad. For this reason, when one has done wrong, give him if

possible a chance to repent, especially if it is only a small matter, and to promise not to do it again, instead of bringing him into court.

The teacher is not a citizen of the school republic, but instructor in this, as in any other subject, and her authority is not changed. She will have no reason to use her authority if the pupils are loyal citizens.

Of course there are other details, requiring the whole of a book to tell them, and I have written many books on the subject. However, I hope that in this letter to you, I have made the matter sufficiently clear to enable you and your schoolmates to take up your rights and responsibilities of American citizenship, and to conduct your own school republic with great pleasure and benefit for every one concerned. You cannot perform a greater patriotic service. I hope that you will write to me, and tell me that you have launched your little ship of state.

Your sincere friend,
WILSON L. GILL

Mt. Airy, Philadelphia,

Questions and Activities

1. What two conditions in this country hamper the effectiveness of our government, according to Mr. Gill?

2. What is Mr. Gill's plan for remedying the present situation? Do you think it would be effective? Why?

3. Make an outline of the procedure in forming a school republic.

4. Memorize the first two chapters of the Code of Conduct.

5. Send Mr. Gill a composite class letter, that is, a letter composed by members of the class together. Elect a class secretary to take notes and draft a letter for class discussion. While you are deciding upon the final form of the letter, you might arrange to organize your class in the way outlined by Mr. Gill and tell him about it in your letter.

SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AND PUBLIC SERVICE

William McAndrew

MANY high schools maintain general organizations and special clubs—glee clubs, athletic teams, orchestras, and dramatic societies. Is membership in these capable of developing consideration for others? Are there any schoolboys who are too selfish to make the reasonable sacrifices necessary to pay their regular periodic dues for the support of such societies? Does it not seem as though a glee club, a dramatic club, or an athletic team might be justified as affording exercise in adding to the happiness of a large company of spectators? High-school organizations quite generally get as far as that. They awaken an individual to do something for a larger interest than one's own. Critics of high schools urge us to go further than this. They say that we make a great ado about cultivating class spirit and school spirit, but with no definite object except class spirit or school spirit. It evaporates in class yells or school songs or in the wearing of colors or pins. It makes what is sometimes called the "rah-rah boy."

Some would-be philosopher asked Socrates to describe his idea of "the good."

"Good for what?" asked Socrates.

"Oh, I don't mean it that way. I mean the abstract idea of the good."

"I know what is good for a cold," said Socrates, "and good for a sore foot; but if you mean good for nothing in particular, I neither know nor care to know of any such thing."

A school that uses its glee clubs, its orchestra, and other such organizations regularly and often for the actual good of some interest wider than the school; an organization that gives concerts for the benefit of a city hospital, or a flower guild, or a National

Child Labor Committee, or any one of the numerous general welfare agencies which are all about us, is training Americans for public welfare, is it not? What public service wider than the advantage to itself has the individual school done?

The old idea of school as a training for life later on is being replaced by the proposal that school should be life itself. We are living now. We are Americans now. You who are in school should not put off American action until after you leave school; but you should form the habit of thinking and acting public-mindedly now, while you are being supported by the public. You should give while you are receiving. Those who conduct your school provide that you shall salute your country's flag, sing patriotic songs, and learn patriotic quotations. This is good. When a schoolboy writes a patriotic oration, he exhorts his hearers to be real patriots. This is good. But if these things end in exhorting others or in mere words, it is lip service. How much is it worth?

Questions and Activities

1. Do you agree with the ideas expressed by the author?
2. What is meant by the "rah-rah boy"?
3. State in your own words the point Socrates was making.
4. Is the spirit in your school turned to some good or purposeful account? If not, how could that be accomplished? Write an outline of your plan and be prepared to discuss it with the class.

A MEETING OF THE CIVIC BETTERMENT CLUB

MARY F. MCMORROW

Many of the school systems in the United States now have well-organized projects for stimulating training in good citizenship. Boston furnishes an excellent example. The following story is in part adapted from a story appearing in the September, 1927, issue of a periodical entitled *Citizenship Through Character Development*, edited by Joseph B. Egan and published by the Boston School Committee.

THE pupils in the Roosevelt Consolidated Rural School came from a large number of farms, including three small villages. They could see many things that they might do to help each other and the communities in which they lived. At the suggestion of their teacher, the members of Class 8A decided to organize a "Civic Betterment Club." At the first meeting there was a general discussion of the purposes of the Club, and a committee was named to draft a Constitution. At the second meeting the Constitution was adopted, and the activities of the Club for the coming year were more definitely outlined. Following is a record of the proceedings at the third meeting.

President.—The meeting will now come to order. First, the Secretary will read the minutes of the last meeting.

Secretary.—A meeting of the Civic Betterment Club was held in Room 17 on September 15th, at 4 P.M., the President presiding.

Present: the officers and all members of the 8A class and their teacher.

On motion, the minutes of the previous meeting were amended to restate more plainly the definite aims of the Club for the coming year, to read:

"The members of the Civic Betterment Club of the Roosevelt Consolidated Rural School, in the desire to become worthy and

helpful citizens of the United States of America, pledge themselves to work during the coming year for coöperative service in the home, school, and community, concentrating particularly upon the solution of the problem of safety from fire and automobile accidents."

A discussion followed as to the best methods to use in order to attain the desired ends. It was decided to consider very carefully at our next meeting the matter of team work. A committee, with subcommittees, was appointed to cover this subject from these topics:

1. What is team work?
2. What are some examples for team work?
3. Shall we use team work for the coming year?

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned for one week.

DOROTHY BROWN
Secretary

President.—Is there any unfinished business?

Secretary.—None, Mr. President.

President.—That being the case, let us proceed immediately with the business of the day—a discussion of team work. Donald, I believe you are the chairman of the committee to report on "What Is Team Work?"

Donald.—We first found out what the dictionary had to say. The word "team" comes to us from the Anglo-Saxon. Its first meaning, "offspring," or "progeny," has a family significance. It then came to mean a line of animals harnessed together—this also having a family sense. Two or more horses, oxen, or other beasts, harnessed to the same vehicle, wagon, sled, plow, or other implement, constituted a team. Then the meaning grew to denote a number of persons associated together in any work, especially a number of persons selected to contend on one side, as in a baseball or football game, a debate, etc.

Helen.—I looked up the word "work." It is a word very commonly used, but I gathered some new ideas from the dictionary. "Work," the dictionary says, "is the exertion of strength or faculties for the accomplishment of something—that is, physical or intellectual effort directed to an end." From this definition we get two ideas that are often overlooked. First, work may be exertion of either the hands or the brain; and secondly, it must be directed to the accomplishment of some end or purpose.

John.—I think we would do well to note that last idea. Much that is called work is not really work. It lacks end or purpose or reason.

Sarah.—There is another point I'd like to mention. We may have a group making together physical or intellectual effort to gain a certain end, but often they do it without plan or system. They work hard, but one does one thing and one another, and there is little or nothing really accomplished.

Mary.—I think it is not real team work until the individual members of a group are willing to subordinate their own personal desires or ambitions to the good of whatever is aimed at.

Henry.—Sarah says that a group working together must have a plan or system. Mary speaks of subordinating their personal desires in the interest of good team work. But must not some be leaders? If all subordinated themselves, who would outline and plan the work?

Mary.—Oh, yes! I hadn't quite finished. The group divides itself into leaders and followers. The leaders, by reason of their proved ability, are selected by the groups themselves, or by those in authority. The followers must have faith in their leaders, and because of that faith must be guided by them.

Ralph.—There is another thing that should not be overlooked. In fact, I think it is a necessary part of real team work, for it is what makes things go. There must be enthusiasm.

Alice.—That's a good point to remember. Our English teacher told us that the word "enthusiasm" comes down to us from the

Greeks. It means "possessed by the gods." The old Greeks thought that some humans were inspired or possessed by the gods. Enthusiasm, then, is "divine fire." If we want to do great work the group must have enthusiasm. Emerson says that nothing great was ever accomplished without enthusiasm.

Donald.—To sum up for my committee. We now have these ideas: first, an aim, an objective, a piece of work we want to do; second, a group giving work or effort; third, this group divides into leaders and followers; fourth, confidence, each in the other, and subordination of self for the good of the whole; fifth, enthusiasm.

Let us, using these points, remake a definition of team work as we want to use it this year.

Ellen.—This is my definition: Team work is a group of persons working together with enthusiasm, harmony, and confidence, under able leaders, to attain a certain end.

President.—I think we all now understand what is meant by team work. Let us hear from Laura what the committee has to report on "Examples of Team Work."

Laura.—A wonderful example of team work is found in the harmonious movements of the planets in accord with the Creator's plan of this great universe. Addison in "The Spacious Firmament" most beautifully describes it:

The unwearied sun from day to day
Does his Creator's power display;
And publishes, to every land,
The work of an almighty hand.

Soon as the evening shades prevail,
The moon takes up the wondrous tale;
And nightly, to the listening earth,
Repeats the story of her birth.

Whilst all the stars that round her burn,
And all the planets, in their turn,
Confirm the tidings as they roll,
And spread the truth from pole to pole.

Paul.—Consider the team work of the vegetable world. Grasses, grains, fruits, vegetables, all working together, year in, year out, all appearing in their proper season to supply our wants. If the team work of the vegetable world were to cease, how could we live?

Anna.—The team work of the animal world offers examples without number. Among the smallest of these are the ant and the bee. Books have been written by scientists wherein they have marvelled at the results of the team work of these creatures.

Fred.—The human body, it seems to me, is the greatest work of the Creator. Its members, each important in itself, depend upon one another constantly. If for any reason one member becomes disabled, it throws the whole body out of its accustomed health and strength, and until that member has been restored to its normal condition, team work is interfered with and the body is ill.

Fannie.—All of man's greatest accomplishments have been the result of team work. One of the finest examples in modern times is that group in Panama, working under the leadership of Gorgas in destroying the fever-breeding mosquitoes. But everyone had to do his part.

George.—A more recent example was the wonderful team work of the great Red Cross organization, working under the direction of Herbert Hoover, in relieving the sufferers in the Mississippi floods. Then, a little later, when the streams of New England overflowed, causing a terrible loss in lives and property, the nine hundred students at Dartmouth College who, being granted a day's leave of absence, with picks and shovels cleaned the debris left by the floods in a neighboring town—these students showed what team work can do. And I have read of how our people organized to help the Japanese when the terrible earthquake occurred, and the people of Russia during a famine.

President.—A very well chosen list of examples of team work. It would be interesting to hear of other examples, but the time

has now arrived for the report of the committee on "Shall the Club Use Team Work This Year?"

Elizabeth.—We believe that team work is the best way to get results. We have seen that God sets us the example. We who live in the country can easily see how all the forces of nature work together, and how nature repays our efforts only as we work together with her, from seed-time to harvest. We have also seen that man's greatest accomplishments, in all lines of endeavor, have been by means of team work. It seems plain, therefore, that this method of working should be adopted by this Club.

Rupert.—But our committee has this advice to offer. First, decide definitely what it is you want to accomplish—your objective. Walk all around it; examine it from every angle. Lincoln once said of his own method, that when he took up the study of a subject or plan or project, he bounded it on the north, east, south, and west. "After that," he said, "no one could make me believe that what I found to be a horse chestnut was a chestnut horse." The point is, we must all know just what we are driving at before we start our team work.

Maribel.—Second, get as many people into your group as you need. Usually, the greater the number, the better. If it is family team work, have every member of the family; if the school, all the pupils in the school; if a community, all the people in the community.

William.—Third, select the best leaders, not from one side, but from all. Don't keep a leader when he is not able to lead. Having chosen your leaders, have faith in them.

Emma.—Fourth, work together unselfishly, harmoniously, eyes on the objective, and with all the enthusiasm possible.

President.—I am sure you will agree that these are all valuable suggestions. Now what is the wish of the club regarding preparation for the next meeting?

Edwin.—Those of us who ride in the bus to and from school see a great deal of reckless driving. We notice, also, that the

pupils who walk seem to pay little attention to the law of the road. Some walk on one side of the highway, some on the other side, when going in the same direction. I therefore move, Mr. President, that under the leadership of a committee appointed by the Chair, the members of the Club make a very thorough study as to what is being done in our various communities regarding safety in automobile travel and how much, if any, team work is being used.

Miriam.—I second the motion.

President.—You have heard the motion. All in favor say "Aye." Those opposed, "No." The motion is carried.

Before the meeting adjourns, I want to call upon our teacher for remarks.

Teacher.—I am greatly pleased with this work. You yourselves have set an excellent example of team work in the way you have conducted this meeting. I have two suggestions to make. The first is this: Select, for work in the near future, one great achievement brought about by team work in part or altogether. Study the way it was done. Study the objective, its importance, its need. Find the leader's strong points, and his or her weak points. Find where enthusiasm was strong and why, where harmony was lacking and why. This study of the strength and weaknesses of others will help you. The other suggestion is this: Ponder well these words from a great and good man—Cardinal Gibbons:

"I have watched men climb up to success, hundreds of them; and of all the elements that are important for success, the most important is Faith. Those who throw up their hands in discouragement when the first snow falls, fail to profit when the sunshine of spring returns. And no great thing comes to any man unless he has courage, even in dark days, to expect great things; to expect them of himself, of his fellowmen of America, and of God."

President.—I know that I speak for all of you in saying to our

teacher that we highly appreciate her advice, and that we will take it to heart and try to put it into practice.

There being no further business, this meeting now stands adjourned.

Questions and Activities

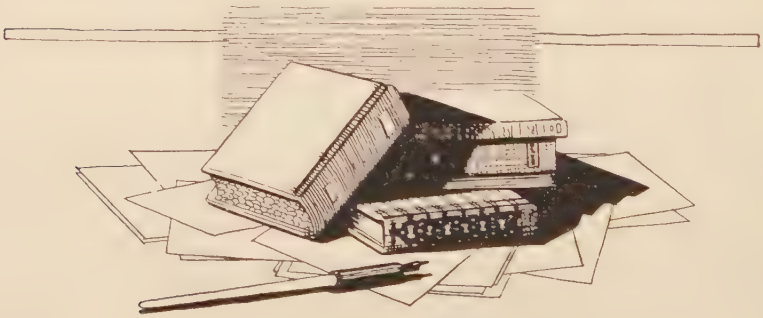
1. Read an account of the work of Gorgas or of the Red Cross and be able to make a report to the class.

2. What examples of team work can you think of that were not mentioned in the club meeting?

3. What is the "law of the road"? Why is it necessary to observe it? Do you observe it?

4. Make a list of the ways in which team work could be used in your school, in your community.

5. Arrange for a class dramatization of this selection.



PROTECTING THE COUNTRYSIDE

IT WAS the first meeting of the Civic Betterment Club of the Roosevelt Consolidated Rural School following the Christmas holiday vacation. There had been a general and lively interchange of greetings and informal talks. But Ralph Brewster, although one of the Club's "live wires," sat in silence. He seemed to be down-hearted and gloomy—quite in contrast to his usual hearty and cheerful manner. Everyone in the meeting felt it. Finally the President said:

"Ralph, we haven't had a word from you. Didn't Christmas treat you well? If you have anything on your mind, why not unload it?"

After some hesitation, Ralph slowly arose and replied: "I don't want to unload on the Club my own troubles, and yet they are not mine alone. Our teacher has from time to time given us excellent counsel about coöperation, or team work, in keeping the schoolhouse and grounds clean and neat. I remember her saying once that when we defaced the walls with chalk or lead pencils, or cut or otherwise marred the woodwork, it amounted to the same thing as stealing from our parents the money required to make repairs. She said that a great deal of such lawlessness was due alone to thoughtlessness, but we were old enough to think, not only of our own desires and pleasures, but of the rights of others. She also said that we didn't have to wait until we were twenty-one years old to become citizens; that we are citizens now, and that we have our own responsibilities for cleanliness and neatness—words which she said also spelled Health and Beauty—in our school and community.

"How much attention have we paid to this counsel? I have noticed, while walking to school and back, that even this distance of three miles shows no less than thirteen ugly and unnecessary signs along the highway. Worse yet, I have frequently

seen flowers scattered along the road that had been pulled up by the roots; large branches of wigelia, syringa, lilacs, and peach and cherry blossoms that had been broken off; newspapers, lunch boxes, and other litter here and there, left by people in automobiles. But all this is by no means the worst of my present troubles."

"Go on," spoke up the President, "and tell us the worst. It may do us good as well as you."

Ralph continued: "One of the first things I can remember is going with my father when he set out the Norway Spruce seedlings on the knoll along the road near our house. The County Agent of the Farm Bureau secured for us one thousand small trees—only a few inches in length—to help my father in what they called 'reforestation.' These trees have grown until now they stand from five to seven feet high. It has been a joy to watch them growing on that hill which was once so bald and ugly.

"Well, just before Christmas—what do you suppose happened? As I passed by this 'Pine Grove field,' as we call it, I saw that two of these trees had been hacked down, and one of them left lying there. Maybe I wasn't mad—and sad, too. I felt as badly as though we had lost two of our pet cats. Can you wonder that I am down-hearted? But why should I unload my troubles on to you? For this reason: If our Club wants to work for civic betterment, here is an opportunity. I think we should try to do something to stop such lawlessness."

Sarah Ownsby arose and said: "I can sympathize with Ralph, for last spring someone pulled up by the roots and carried away one of the beautiful young poplars my father planted along the road by our house. I think we ought to do something more than simply complain and discuss. I therefore move, Mr. President, that a committee of five be appointed to see what can be done to stop such things, and that this committee shall have power to act as they think best."

The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried, Ralph being named as the committee chairman.

That very afternoon, as Ralph was leaving the village of Roosevelt on his way home from school, he noticed a pile of rubbish back of Andrew Slack's house. Upon closer inspection, he saw it contained a discarded Christmas tree that was to all appearances the identical tree which had been carried away from the Pine Grove field. Ralph's first impulse was to rush in and claim his property—useless though it now was—and to let everyone about the premises know how he thought and felt about it. However, he held himself in check and passed on, but began at once to lay his plans.

Ralph said nothing about his discovery to the people at home. "I started this with the Club," he reasoned to himself, "and I'll see it through on my own responsibility, under the authority which the Club gave my committee."

During the noon hour next day he called the committee together and acquainted the members with his discovery. It was decided that the committee—consisting of three boys and two girls—should wait upon Mr. Slack after school that afternoon, present the matter to him, and ask for such amends as might now be possible; in any event, to exact from him a promise to refrain from such ruthless acts in the future.

"But suppose he becomes angry and orders us out?" one of the boys timidly asked. "Don't worry," Ralph replied, "he'll think twice before he drives us away. Anyway, we are in the right, and it is for us to have the courage of our convictions."

At 4:15 the committee entered the hardware store owned by Mr. Slack. He had just finished waiting upon a customer. Upon seeing the group headed by Ralph he said, "Good afternoon. What can I do for you?"

"We are a committee from the Civic Betterment Club of our school," Ralph replied. "We came to inquire, first, why you should feel at liberty to cut down trees on my father's farm."

"And why, may I inquire, should your Civic Betterment Club feel at liberty to ask me such an impertinent question? If

your father has any complaints to make against me, why doesn't he himself make them to me?"

"In reply to your first question, I may say that the Civic Betterment Club has taken this matter up because it is one of the activities for which the Club was organized. Secondly, my father does not yet know that you destroyed the trees. If you prefer to deal with him directly, I will inform him to that effect."

"And how do you know that I cut the trees? You are making some bold charges, my lad, without presenting any evidence."

"The evidence will be presented if it becomes necessary, but it seems unnecessary unless you deny the charge."

"Well, just supposing I did cut a small tree or two, what of it? And what are you going to do about it?"

"It seems to us, Mr. Slack, that this is a matter for you to settle, not us. It is not so much a question of what we shall do as what you will do about it. We are here to complain of an act that has caused my family a serious loss and no little worry. And such acts affect not my family alone, but every family in this district. You seem to consider it a matter of small concern. But suppose a motorist drives by your place some day during your absence and, taking a fancy to one of the small ornamental shrubs in your yard, stops and pulls up the shrub and carries it away. Would you not feel that you had been wronged? Would you not try to prevent such acts in the future? I speak not for myself alone but for the Civic Betterment Club of our school; and our Club, I may add, has the hearty support of the town officials."

Mr. Slack did not reply at once. He was a business man, and the good-will of the community was an important part of his stock in trade. In presenting the matter, what Ralph did not say was quite as effective as what he did say. It left Mr. Slack groping in the dark. Here was a committee from the Civic Betterment Club. So the matter had been discussed at the school. Suppose the town officers were appealed to, and worse

still, the editor of the town newspaper? It was a small matter, but gossip thrived on small matters. He recalled the circumstances. Week before last his wife asked him to secure a Christmas tree for their two small children. He ran out in the country in his car after closing the store for the day. It was nearly dark, so he seized the first opportunity that was offered. Coming along by a grove of small pines, he said to himself, "No one will miss a tree or two out of this large grove." He cut one—and then left that for another that suited him better. And now here were these youngsters bothering him about it. How could he manage it without further bother? Then, too, on second thought this boy's talk had gotten 'under the skin.' He did not feel at all at ease. But how could he mend matters now? How could he square himself with these boys and girls? They were right, after all, and he was in the wrong. They really ought to be helped and encouraged in what they were doing. They were acting as he hoped his own children would act as they grew older.

All these thoughts, and more, ran through his mind quicker than words can tell them. Finally he spoke:

"Well, my boy, you have been frank and straightforward with me, and I want to be the same with you. In the first place, you do not need to prove my guilt. I admit it. It was thoughtless—and lawless, if you please—for me to cut those trees. Had I realized at the time how you would feel about it, of course I would not have done it. I am very sorry—and still more sorry that I cannot restore the trees to you. But it requires years for a tree to grow. You have taught me a good lesson, and I promise you that no one in the future will need to teach it to me again."

At the next meeting of the Club, Ralph presented a report for his committee, mentioning no names. In concluding, he said: "We feel that we have made a good start on a movement that should be continued. The committee therefore recommends that at least part of our limited funds be used in the manner provided in a notice to be published in our town paper. The editor of the

paper kindly offered to insert this notice for an indefinite period free of charge. It reads as follows:

> $25.00 REWARD. The undersigned hereby offers a reward of $25.00 to any person or persons furnishing information as to anyone who, without the consent of the owner, destroys or injures any wild flowers, plants, shrubs, or trees growing on lands situated in this school district. Until further notice this reward is also offered to any person who is instrumental in preventing the destruction or injury of such wild flowers, plants, shrubs, or trees; also to any person who prevents motorists or others from scattering papers, lunch boxes, and other litter along the highways of this school district.
>
> THE CIVIC BETTERMENT CLUB
> of the
> ROOSEVELT CONSOLIDATED RURAL SCHOOL

Questions and Activities

1. What have you noticed in your community that shows a lack of civic interest and pride? What can you, as a young citizen, do to improve matters?

2. Explain the expression: "What Ralph did not say was quite as effective as what he did say."

3. What is the usual attitude of people who are careless about public property or natural resources?

4. It has been said that "people are known by the litter they leave." When litter is left by autoists, or a campfire left unextinguished, what principles of good citizenship are violated?

THE 4-H TRAIL

IT ISN'T a single trail, strictly speaking, but thousands of trails all leading to a central point. The branch trails begin in the rural communities all over the country; then these all converge at the county seat; then from each county to the State Agricultural College, and thence forty-eight trails lead from the various states to the United States Department of Agriculture at Washington. It is like an immense, vigorous tree, its roots and trunk at the nation's capital, its branches reaching out over every state and increasing in number and size year by year.

I wish you could have been present at the last county meeting of the 4-H clubs at Roosevelt, in Lincoln County. Under the leadership of the County Agricultural Agent, the Civic Betterment Club of the Roosevelt Consolidated Rural School acted as host. Committees of this Club made all arrangements for carrying out the two-day program, such as scheduling the meeting places for the various literary, athletic, stock-judging, and home-making contests, and securing lodging places for delegates coming long distances. Some of the delegates came by train, but the majority by automobile. A large reception committee appointed by the President of the Civic Betterment Club made an effort to meet all visitors, conduct them to the registration booth, and make them feel at home. Each member of this Committee wore a badge marked "RECEPTION," and all members of the Club had badges reading: "ASK ME. I BELONG HERE."

Early Friday morning the visitors began to arrive, and you may be sure the Reception Committee was kept busy. Its first duty was to see that every visitor was registered and designated by an appropriate badge. Every boy and girl who belonged to a 4-H Club was given a badge marked: DELEGATE——4-H CLUB.

The parents of club members and other visitors were provided with badges with this designation: SPONSOR FOR THE——4-H CLUB.

While the work of registration was proceeding at the headquarters of the Reception Committee, impromptu receptions and noisy demonstrations were in progress outside. Neighbors collected in groups to talk over the latest news and to discuss the chances of their boys and girls in the contests to be held. Old friends now living some distance from each other met and renewed old-time associations. Crash! went one of the bands that a few of the visiting clubs brought with them. But play as furiously as they could, they were not able to drown the chorus yells of various clubs as they paraded the village streets. By noon there was an estimated assemblage of five thousand people. It was a good-natured crowd, and the friendly rivalry and "live-wire" spirit of the sixteen clubs in attendance kept things moving.

At 10 o'clock began the stock-judging contests for boys and various homemaking contests for girls. Along with these main events, interested groups gathered to witness boys engage in such contests as selecting seed corn, cutting potato seed, planting a tree, packing eggs, sharpening tools, etc., while groups of girls competed in setting a table, mending stockings, making an apron, keeping a health record, etc. In the afternoon occurred the girls' basketball tournament and the boys' preliminary field meet.

In the evening at the Town Hall the following general program for all the clubs was held, the County Agricultural Agent, as official county club leader, presiding as chairman of the meeting. After an opening song by the audience and salute to the flag by the club members, the chairman said: "I have a happy surprise for you. By sheer good luck we have with us a representative from the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. I have the honor and pleasure of introducing to you Mr. Andrew B. Ousley, who will now address you."

Mr. Ousley.—"Members and sponsors of the 4-H clubs: I am glad indeed to be here. There are so many things I should like to say to you that I cannot possibly cover them all within my time limit.

"First, let me remind you that this meeting has a far wider significance than you may realize. The splendid program you are carrying out here is simply a part of a country-wide movement to promote farm and home life. Meetings similar to this one are held annually, not only in the other counties of this state, but in all the states of the Union. More than five hundred thousand boys and girls now belong to 4-H clubs. You might well add to your Club Pledge the old Latin motto, *Sursum corda*—'Let us lift up our hearts!' For you have a host of associates to inspire you. The 4-H clubs dot the surface of our country as the stars dot the skies.

"And what are these clubs doing? What is their purpose? Why do the people support them? The symbol of your organization—the four-leaf clover—answers all these questions. The clover itself signifies the purpose for which the first clubs were created—soil conservation. But it means more than this, it means also human conservation. The letter H on each of the four leaflets of the clover stands for a vital factor in successful club work. The Head must be trained to think, plan, and reason; the Heart to be kindly and sympathetic toward your own work and that of your associates; the Hands must be trained to be skillful; and one's Health must be kept in the best possible state in order that you may attain the greatest usefulness and fullest enjoyment.

"The 4-H organization offers its advantages to all boys and girls in the rural districts, whether in or out of school. It says to the boy, 'Go out and dig in the soil. Learn to love it and learn from it how it can minister to your wants and enjoyments.' It says to the girl, 'Go out in the kitchen and study how you can lighten your mother's burdens and make home life more enjoyable.' It says to you boys and girls, and to all the boys and girls all over this land of ours: 'I aim to bring you in contact with inspiring things in agriculture and the home which otherwise might never be revealed to you. I prove to you that the country, which God

A 4-H CLUB PLANNING ITS YEAR'S PROGRAM

made, offers possibilities for sustenance and enjoyment far superior to the city, which man made. I make you realize more keenly that you are a citizen of your community, your county, your state, your country. I teach the members of your Club how to work together, play together, and how to push and pull together. I teach you, not out of books, but out of the living things of the fields, the woods, the orchard, and the home. I also bring you in contact with the trained men and women of the colleges, the farm, and the town—men and women of vision. Such contact, in turn, teaches you the need of the trained mind and hand if you are to succeed, thus creating in you a desire to finish school, go to college or in some way to secure proper training for your life work.'

"Now, all these things are known through actual experience to you boys and girls who are 4-H Club members. But I want you to catch the vision of what others are doing in far-away places by citing a few typical examples among thousands of cases reported to us.

"One of the first developments in club work was the boys' corn clubs in the southern states. The purpose was to teach rotation of crops in order to combat the boll weevil menace to the cotton crop. During the year 1909 more than ten thousand boys enrolled in these corn clubs. Hundreds of public-spirited citizens offered prizes to these young agriculturists who were showing the way to better farming. The most valued prize was a trip to Washington. That year Elmer Halter of Arkansas, De Witt Lundy of Mississippi, Bascomb Usher of South Carolina, and Ralph Bellwood of Virginia won these trips and were awarded the first diplomas ever given by the United States Secretary of Agriculture. The next year nearly fifty thousand boys enrolled, and every southern state sent a corn champion to Washington.

"To Marie S. Cromer, a country school teacher in Aiken County, South Carolina, belongs the honor of organizing the first girls' canning club. Early in the spring of 1910 she enrolled forty-six

girls and had them all plant tomato gardens. She soon reported that these girls were taking the keenest interest in the enterprise. She also said the teachers reported that the club girls were doing better work in school and that several members who had been pale and frail were improving in health. How natural it was that growing girls should become enthusiastic over growing plants

COUNTY AGENT DEMONSTRATING POINTS IN CATTLE JUDGING TO A 4-H CLUB

and that the pink in their cheeks should anticipate the red that was coming on the tomatoes!

"The regional agent for the southern states, Mr. O. B. Martin, continues the account of this project as follows:

" 'About the time the tomatoes were ripening, I made arrangements to have a large canning outfit expressed from Illinois to Aiken, South Carolina. I also ordered 3,000 tin cans and solder-

ing equipment. When I arrived in Aiken, a large number of the club girls were there with their tomatoes. I had not had much experience in canning, so I secured a tinner, a plumber, and a carpenter to assist. Before long the smoke was pouring out of the big canner on the courthouse lawn. We canned for three days. Many women and girls from the country, as well as from the town, were present. I remember one girl, Katie Gunter, who came twenty-three miles every day in a buggy with her father. She had the best lot of tomatoes that were brought to the canning meetings and made the best club record. The next year she came to the joint gatherings of the South Carolina and Georgia women agents in that vicinity and was the most skilful canner at the meetings. That was good progress for a fourteen-year-old girl in one year. The South Carolina legislature passed an act giving her a scholarship in Winthrop College. Her name was incorporated in the statutes of the state along with that of Jerry Moore, who had won national honors in his corn-club work.'

"In some parts of the country the home garden is receiving a great deal of attention in club work. Here is a report from Massachusetts. A boy named Costas Caragianis of Dracut, a former garden champion of Middlesex County, tells the story of his club work and training as follows:

" 'I am a third-year member of the Parker Avenue garden club. Last fall I planted one hundred and fifty pounds of onions for the following spring. I made $126.00 on them. When the crop was finished, I planted four ounces of parsley on which I made $27.90. At the same time I planted celery, sweet marjoram, and sweet basil. This year I was fortunate enough to borrow my uncle's horse. I went to the dump and gathered over two hundred tin cans in which I planted sweet marjoram and sweet basil. These plants I afterward sold at good prices, some of them bringing as much as $2.00 each.'

"Here is a brief extract from a report on a clothing-club dem-

onstration in Contra Costa County, California: 'The girl who was the most unpromising at first was the best in the end. She had never used a thimble and, in fact, had sewed very little. The slip she made was faulty, but her dress was excellent and the best of all. The girl ranked as third best really received the most benefit. She was wholly inexperienced in sewing when she joined the club. Her efforts at last showed in the shape of two well-made dresses for herself and two slips, one for herself and one for her younger sister.'

"Just one more extract from the reports of our county club agents. This one comes from Addison County, Vermont:

" 'The town of Weybridge has a 4-H girls' organization known as the Hilltop Room Club. It is composed of nine girls, fifteen to sixteen years of age, who are carrying out a room-improvement program under the leadership of an enthusiastic community worker, Mrs. B. O. Wales. The members of this Club, the leader, and myself recently went on a tour to inspect the rooms. . . . Gertrude Bingham's room was completely changed from its dull dark-brown tones by the use of a light rose and gray striped paper with narrow flowered border. At the windows, which she herself had puttied, were hung new white shades and hemstitched voile curtains. Woodwork, floor, and furniture were painted in shades of gray. One of the bright spots in the room was a bookcase made from a box covered with rose-flowered cretonne curtains.'

"Of course you know about the summer camps for 4-H Clubs. The demand for better training in demonstration work has been largely responsible for the introduction of the camp into the club program. It has saved the time of extension workers and has given the boys and girls an opportunity to study and play together. Some two thousand summer camps are now held, with an attendance of over two hundred thousand.

"And so this movement grows year by year. It is bringing to our people in the rural districts a new vision of the possibilities

and advantages and joys of country life. One of these days I shall be looking for reports from many of you when you become leaders—as you certainly will—in the 4-H Club work."

When the applause following Mr. Ousley's address had died down the chairman said: "You have already expressed your appreciation of Mr. Ousley's address. He has given us many inspiring facts and ideas to carry back home. In group meetings tomorrow morning we shall have further reports of club activities, particularly from the winners in today's contests. We have a full program ahead of us, so I shall not prolong this meeting further. Before dispersing, however, let us rise and repeat in unison the 4-H Club Pledge. All together:

> As a true club member, I pledge my Head to Clearer Thinking, my Heart to Greater Loyalty, my Hands to Larger Service, and my Health to Better Living for my Club, my Community, and my Country.

On Saturday morning some time was devoted to inspecting the exhibits of articles and announcements of projects displayed by the various clubs, while the judges were deciding upon the award of prizes. At 10:30 the boys and girls gathered in separate group meetings to hear reports and discuss plans for next year. At noon a complimentary barbecue dinner for all visitors was served by the citizens of the town. At 1:30 all the clubs formed for a grand parade. It was a sight long to be remembered. Bands played, club yells resounded along the line of march and continued even after the procession reached the athletic field. Here, commencing at 2:30, were held the final track and field events. And from the first crack of the starter's pistol in the 50-yard dash to the crossing of the finish-line by the last runner in the relay race, there was the most intense interest and enthusiasm and "rooting."

The two-day program was concluded on Saturday night with a "double bill": the music memory and the declamation contests.

The declamation contest was something new in the way of a

A GROUP OF 4-H GIRLS MAKING BASKETS

citizen-training event. It related largely to the heart side of the 4-H Club activities. Each boy or girl was required to deliver a five-minute selection that would incite in both speaker and hearers high ideals and an active interest in civic activities. As a result of preliminary try-outs, twelve speakers were selected for the final contest. It was a tremendous success. The audience listened with sustained interest and enthusiasm while these campaign speakers for good citizenship reproduced some of the best utterances of such great Americans as Webster, Lincoln, Phillips, Garfield, Watterson, Roosevelt, Wilson, Root, Coolidge and Hoover. Ralph Brewster of the Roosevelt Club spoke a selection entitled, "The Americanism of the Cape Cod Fishermen." When the judges announced that he had won first place, pandemonium broke loose. It was a well-earned victory, for other competitors stood very close.

It was noticeable, however, that no one grumbled at the decision of the judges. And this was true as to all the other contests. You almost wondered at this sometimes, too. For besides the prizes awarded at the county meeting, the first-place winner in each event also won a place as delegate to the state meeting, and each delegate to the state meeting had a chance to win a place as delegate to the national meeting at Washington. However, the 4-H Club members train themselves to play the game fair and put into a contest the very best they have, then to leave the decision absolutely to the judges. They would no more think of questioning the judges' decision than a good citizen would think of questioning a decision of the United States Supreme Court. This principle has become pretty well ingrained. They have learned that good sportsmanship means the ability to be a good loser as well as a good winner. In one of the group meetings Saturday morning a club leader suggested the slogan:

To win without bragging,
To lose without grumbling.

At the close of the declamation contest the crowd in the town hall gradually separated. Some of the visitors must catch the late train home; others were to drive. All were tired, but in one way or another, satisfied and happy. Here and there were heard such comments as these:

"Haven't we had a time!" exclaimed Paul Jones of the Dripping Springs Club.

Martha Brown of the Three Rivers Club declared: "I'm coming back next year to win first place in declamation instead of the third place I won tonight."

And David Acton, chairman of the Citizens' Committee at Roosevelt, observed: "It was a big task to take care of that crowd, but it certainly was well worth while."

Questions and Activities

1. What is the purpose of the 4-H Clubs?

2. What do the 4 H's stand for?

3. If you have a 4-H Club in your community, tell of some of their activities.

4. Make a list of the 4-H Club activities that Mr. Ousley mentions in his address.

5. Turn to page 325 and read "The Americanism of the Cape Cod Fishermen," the declamation Ralph Brewster delivered. Be prepared to discuss with the class why this selection would appeal to an audience.

WARFORD VS. THE CLUB

JOHN F. CASE — ADAPTED

HAL CARSON was a great ball-player—in his own opinion. He had easily beaten Bob Barton in the preliminary try-outs for first baseman on the 4-H Club team. He and his supporters at Warford looked down with more or less disdain upon the "rubes" from Pleasant Ridge. The 4-H County championship was only two weeks off. Ross Barkley, the county agent, had the responsibility of selecting the team for Brown County, and he arranged for a match game between Warford High School and the Club team to determine the final make-up of the county team.

Bob Barton was to play first base on the Club team. Since the previous game in which Hal Carson had so easily outclassed him, Bob had undergone some hard training under the eye of his friend and neighbor, Mr. O'Neal, a former star on his college team.

The day set for the game might have been a holiday for both Pleasant Ridge and Warford so far as work was concerned. Through all the consolidated school community an undercurrent of feeling ran that the game between the Club team and Warford High was for bigger stakes than a mere victory. Bob Barton's gruelling toil at practice even when days of work had left him slow and sluggish lost nothing in the retelling, for now it was an open secret. Bob Barton was out to beat his rival and Pleasant Ridge, with all its clannish consciousness aroused, was on hand to see the scrap. Warford citizens were proud of their team, which had gone through the county high-school league season with but one game lost and was now proudly flaunting its championship banner. Rumors were afloat that the 4-H Club team was not lacking in strong material. Warford would pull

for the team against Harmon County, but now its youth and age crowded the stands to cheer Hal Carson and his showy comrades. Ross Barkley, cool as the proverbial cucumber, called his lads about him before the game began.

"Horton can hold Warford," Barkley announced, "and it's your business to get some runs for him. If you have had any idea that the Wharton team is unbeatable get that out of your heads. Warford has a few stars," Barkley went on, "but man for man we are their equals. On your toes now and fight to the last ditch. My guess is that this will be a hard, close game, perhaps decided by one run."

Digging his spikes into the dirt at first base as the club team took its preliminary workout, Bob Barton saw his old friend the Squire perched high in the stands. He waved a greeting and the Squire waved back. Massed in one section the 4-H Club partisans, with Pleasant Ridge largely in the majority, shouted and sang under the leadership of Miss Edwards. Well down in front Bob could see Katie O'Neal, her curls windblown, blue eyes shining. Disdaining a seat, big John O'Neal lounged on the ground near the club team's bench. The farm boys seemed slow and uncertain in fielding, while Warford's infield flashed the ball around with a precision that seemed uncanny. There was many an inward groan from club well-wishers as the umpire called "Play ball!" Here was a seasoned team against raw material. But as Ted Baldwin, leading off for his team, went to bat, the "Fight, Club, Fight!" of the 4-H friends matched the menace of Warford's "Smash 'Em, Warriors!" Baldwin smashed hard to the shortstop and was thrown out. The game went on.

Before two innings had passed it was evident that Ross Barkley knew whereof he spoke. Vance Horton, big and powerful, held hard-hitting Warford at bay, while the fast-fielding school team threw a defense around their pitcher which seemed impregnable. As the innings passed with but two scores each, Carson unleased the batteries of wrath upon his mates. "Going to let a team of

rubes whip you?" he shouted so that all could hear. "At 'em this inning. Get on; no matter how, get on." Putnam, the shortstop, responded with a clean single and Warford cheered madly. Up came Carson to smash a terrific drive to Ted Baldwin who knocked down the ball, then threw wildly to first base. As Bob Barton stretched far and gloved the ball he felt a tremendous shock. Carson with spikes high had slid into the bag. Bob felt a trickle of blood as he lay, the sphere still clutched.

"Out!" snapped the umpire, who had run over for the play. As Carson rose with a yell of protest Bob saw Putnam break from second to third base. Still prone he lined the ball across in a throw which caught the sliding runner and brought all Pleasant Ridge to its feet.

"Time out," yelled Captain Baldwin, rushing over to first, where Carson stood berating the umpire.

"I said you were out," announced the umpire, "and that stands! By rights I should put you out of the game. That's dirty work, Carson, sliding into a baseman as you did just now."

"He tried to block me off," snapped the Warford captain, "when I go to base the baseman must look out for himself."

Slow to anger, Bob Barton had taken no part in the argument. But now, as Ross Barkley came hurrying up, Bob faced his opponent with blazing eyes. "That's a lie, Carson," said Bob, and although his voice was low it carried clear to his gathering mates and those of the Warford team who had come to the scene. "That's a lie," Bob repeated, "for I was back of the bag."

Carson lunged forward, to be caught in a grip of steel. "Enough of this," said Ross Barkley, "we are here to play, not to fight. Go back to the bench, Hal. Here, Bob, let's have a look at that leg. We'll see if you can go on."

Muttering, Carson retreated, his mates a storm cloud of wrath. Coach Barkley stripped down the sock, disclosing an ugly gash. "Better call it a day, Bob," he advised, "we'll put in a substitute."

"Not unless you force me out," answered Barton. "I'll play if I have to run on one leg. Tie it up, please. I've played with a worse hurt than that."

There was a gleam of admiration in Ross Barkley's eyes. "Game, anyway," he said, "if you can't play ball. All right, old man, go ahead." Skilfully Barkley bandaged the cut and play was resumed. In came the 4-H boys fighting mad.

"Here's where we have our inning," announced Ted Baldwin. "It's the lucky seventh; let's go." But despite their desperate efforts, there was no score. In their half Warford, by solid hitting, put over two runs. Gloom enveloped the club followers, for it seemed evident that a two-run lead was enough to win. Carson had driven out a long two-base hit which, scoring two runners, had put his team in the lead. Cocky and confident he cheered his mates.

Quickly the first club boy was thrown out. Hope revived as Ted Baldwin scratched a single down the third-base line, but when Curtis struck out, even Ross Barkley groaned. A moment later, however, the club contingent was shattering the atmosphere with "Fight, Club, Fight!" for Mooney had lined a long single to center and by daring running had stretched it into a two-base hit. On third base Captain Baldwin danced and howled. Up came Bob Barton, batting in the clean-up position vacated by the switch when Carson shifted to his own team. Strive as he might before, Bob had been unable to get the ball safe. There was grim determination in his eyes as he faced the Warford pitcher. Gone was the pain in his injured limb; coolly he let the first ball pass for a strike, then heard the umpire call, "Ball one!"

Up from his place on the grass rose big John O'Neal. The fire of old college days was in his veins. Turning to the shrieking club crowd, O'Neal megaphoned through cupped hands. "Yea, Barton!" yelled O'Neal, and the club folks took up the cry, "Yea, Barton! Fight! Fight! Fight!" Out of the corner of his

eye Bob caught a glimpse of Kate O'Neal, her face aflame with enthusiasm, her clear voice calling his name. Up came the ball waist high and Bob put all his sturdy strength into the swing. Like a bullet the ball passed through the infield, sped past the center-fielder, who madly pursued. Around the base lines tore Bob, his mates ahead, twin streaks of eagerness to score. Rounding third base he saw the recovered ball coming straight and true to the waiting shortstop.

"Come on!" howled John O'Neal. "Come on!" But now the pain of his wound had slowed Bob so that although he strove desperately it seemed as if the winning run were surely lost. For a second Bob faltered, then high and keen above the pandemonium of friends and enemies he heard the fighting yell of old Squire Jones. A flashing glimpse showed him the old man, hat off, gray hair wind-blown, shouting the battle cry of death or victory. In came the ball to the waiting catcher. "Slide!" howled O'Neal. "Slide!"

Only long hours of practice, of patient instruction, could have made possible the thing that happened. Smack came the ball into waiting hands, and the Warford catcher dove at his enemy. Almost on top of the plate the umpire waited tense and watchful. A split second before the touch could be made Bob slid, hooking the toe of one spiked shoe on the plate, falling away from that outstretched eager hand. "Safe!" cried the umpire.

In a mob of frenzied players who pounded his back or strove to shake his hand, Bob Barton found his shoulder grasped in the clasp that always thrilled. "Atta boy!" said Ross Barkley, but there was far more than the conventional words of encouragement in his voice. "Atta boy! I'm proud of you. It took gameness to do that." Among the club folks Bob could see his father and mother, his small sisters, their faces aglow with pride. The old Squire whose challenge had inspired him to final effort waved a battered hat and shouted defiance at Warford partisans who had turned batteries of wrath upon him for desertion to the enemy.

"He's my boy!" shrilled the old man. "By all rights, I had a right to cheer for him."

Warford was whipped. The game ended five to four in the club team's favor as Horton, inspired to renewed effort, held the town lads hitless, and Ted Baldwin and his mates were forced to be content with their one-run lead. As the crowd began to disperse Ross Barkley beckoned to Hal Carson, then called his own boys into a group aside.

"Everyone knows," began Barkley abruptly, "that this was more than a game to decide which team was best. It was to settle the disputed matter of who plays first base for the 4-H Club of Brown County. If I thought that Hal Carson deliberately spiked Bob, he could not play on my team, no matter how good he might be. But I don't believe that. For the good of the team I think you players should have a hand in deciding whom we will have as the regular baseman from now on. Undoubtedly Barton, through his hard drill at home, has improved tremendously and is entitled to further consideration. I reserve the right to make final decision, but I want a vote. With Carson and Barton excluded, all regular and substitute players may vote on these men. Remember, the good of the team, not individual preference or friendship, must govern you."

Two minutes later the club boys rejoined Barkley, Barton, and Carson, who had stood gloomily silent, his lips twisted in a smile of scorn. "We are unanimous for Bob Barton," announced Ted Baldwin. "Not that we hold anything against Hal," he added hastily, "but we just think that now Bob is the better man."

Before Ross Barkley could speak Carson smashed the bat he was holding upon the ground. "Of course, you'd vote for him," he cried bitterly. "It was all fixed. I'm through."

"Enough of that!" said Ross Barkley sternly. "The decision stands. Barton will play first base unless you can prove to us as he did that you have the right. If you aren't yellow, Hal,"

he concluded pointedly, "you'll take your medicine as Bob did and fight for your place again."

"Who said I was yellow?" demanded Carson. "I'll stay on all right, and I'll fight. Barton called me a liar today and he's got to eat his words. I'll not stand for that from any man."

"Any time, any place you say," broke in Bob, to be checked by the lash of Barkley's words.

"Small boys fight," said Barkley. "Men work and play. Many things are said in the heat of a hard-fought game which are best forgotten. We have the making of a great team, fellows, and it has been proved today a team is no stronger than its substitutes. Bob saved and won this game; he may do as well against Harmon County or Hal may be the hero. We'll have our hands full without scrapping among ourselves.

"That's going to be a mighty sore leg, Bob," Barkley concluded, "and I shan't allow you to play in next Saturday's game against Hopkins. Carson will play first for us. Remember, Hal," and the county agent's grin was infectious, "that you won if you lost. You belong to a team that hasn't lost a game and doesn't intend to lose."

As Bob and Ted came up to the group of neighbors, Bob's father hailed Bob as one boy chum might another. "Great stuff, old man," said Bradley Barton, "I knew they couldn't lick a 4-H clubber. We are all proud of you."

"Bob's been voted in as regular first baseman," broke in Ted.

"Bully!" cried John O'Neal. "Good for you, Lad. I told you they couldn't keep Pleasant Ridge down."

Questions and Activities

1. Do you think Hal Carson showed real sportsmanship? Did Bob Barton?

2. Tell of some incident you have observed that is similar to the one here described.

3. Write a paragraph telling why it pays to do the square thing, regardless of your personal feelings.

IN HONOR OF NEW CITIZENS*

F. Louise Nardin

THERE was a buzz of excitement among the pupils of the Roosevelt Consolidated Rural School. The Civic Betterment Club had planned a celebration of the admission of thirty-five new citizens, to be held in the school auditorium. The members of the Club had for several weeks been canvassing the several communities in the school district for candidates. Twenty of the thirty-five who had been secured were not new citizens, strictly speaking. They had reached the age of twenty-one during the year, and so had become qualified to exercise the great privilege of voting in local, state, and national elections; and the taking on of this privilege was considered of sufficient importance to deserve a public celebration. The remaining fifteen were candidates for naturalization.

It was Friday afternoon, three o'clock; the day and hour for the ceremonies had arrived. The school auditorium was packed with eager spectators. In reserved seats in front were grouped the candidates for citizenship, the members of the Civic Betterment Club, and the other pupils of the school. The teachers and specially invited guests were seated on the rostrum. The mayor of the town of Roosevelt acted as chairman of the meeting.

First on the program was the reception of the new citizens who had reached the age of twenty-one during the past year. These young men and women rose and the chairman then said:

"*Fellow-citizens:* As a result of the commendable enterprise and patriotic efforts of the Civic Betterment Club, I have the honor and pleasure of presenting to you these young men and women who by birth are Americans, and who by reason of ma-

*Adapted in part from "The Makers of America: A Civic Ritual," published by the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin.

ture age are now entitled to assume the responsibility and privilege of full citizenship."

At this point "The Spirit of the Past" came forward in the person of one of the older girls, dressed as a Colonial Dame, and spoke as follows:

"I am the voice of the America of the Past. It is not enough that one be born in America and grow to maturity on American soil. These things alone do not make American citizens. Citizens should know the spirit of America. In this scroll are written wise words of our fathers. Read them, and let us question our young citizens and learn whether their hearts and their aims are one with the hearts and aims of those who in the past made America."

She then handed a scroll to the Chairman, which he opened and from which he read:

" 'We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

" 'God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time.'

" 'Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.'

" 'Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation.' "

Chairman: "You have heard these principles of American democracy. Do you believe in them?"

Answer of young citizens: "In these things we keep the faith of the fathers."

Chairman: "Hear also words of the past, that come from a time when America was bleeding from the deadliest of all wounds, —hatred of Americans against Americans; distrust of one group of citizens for another group of citizens. Such wounds again threaten the safety of our country. Here and there swift and foolish tongues babble the poisonous words of class distrust and class hatred. Will your voices be raised among those who make for strife? Or will you help your country to meet the problems of the present in the spirit of Lincoln, the wise builder of peace between factions, who, though he saw the power of human passion and error, never lost faith in humanity. Hear his faith and his spirit:

" 'Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?'

" 'Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.'

" 'With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.'

"Do you believe that right makes might?"

Answer of new citizens: "Our faith is that right makes might."

Chairman: "Will you endeavor to hold, in all the problems of our time, Lincoln's spirit of charity and brotherhood?"

Answer of new citizens: "We will endeavor to hold Lincoln's faith and his spirit."

Chairman: "You have heard the voices of these new citizens."

Spirit of the Past: "I have heard their voices, and I am content. These are true Americans. The past may safely trust in them. I recommend that they be received into full fellowship with those who have hitherto guided America."

Chairman: "Youths of America, the Past has questioned you, and has been satisfied that the flag which toil has made may safely be given over to your keeping. The community receives you as full-fledged citizens, and as a token of your new status of dignity and responsibility the governor of our state has authorized me to confer on you the certificate of citizenship which I now hand you. It is our hope and prayer that in the new and exalted position we today celebrate you will ever give to your country the best that is in you."

Next in order the President of the Civic Betterment Club, as sponsor of the foreign-born citizens who were candidates for citizenship, came forward and, requesting these candidates to rise, said:

"These men and women, Mr. Chairman, born in other lands than America, seek citizenship with us. They have come to our land because, afar off, they saw it as a star of promise. By their lives since they have come to us they have shown their conviction that 'harmony, industry, and frugality are the essential pillars of public felicity.' They have studied the meaning of America, and they feel sure that they are at heart Americans. For 'Americanism is a question of spirit, conviction, and purpose, not of creed or birthplace.'

"These persons have taken this oath of allegiance to the United States of America:

" 'I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly to the sovereignty of which I have heretofore been a subject; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same.'

"And now, by authority of our United States District Judge I hereby hand to each of you a Certificate of Naturalization."

Chairman: "You have taken an oath of allegiance to the

United States. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, 'We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech, there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice.'

"Into your keeping we give the flag of our common country. Guard it and love it. It is the flag of your home. Under this flag your children will live. In this flag will be their hope. You have chosen America, turning your back on an older world. America receives you gladly. We do not ask or expect that you will forget the country of your birth, but we do expect that henceforth America will hold first place in your affections. And if in the future you revisit the home of your childhood, either in imagination or in reality, we hope you will return to us with this song on your lips and in your heart:

'Tis fine to see the Old World, and travel up and down
Among the famous palaces and cities of renown,
To admire the crumbly castles and the statues or the kings—
But now I think I've had enough of antiquated things.

So it's home again, and home again, America for me!
My heart is turning home again, and there I long to be,
In the land of youth and freedom beyond the ocean bars,
Where the air is full of sunlight and the flag is full of stars.

One of the older boys from the Civic Betterment Club had been selected to represent "The America of Tomorrow." He now came forward, dressed in the uniform of a Boy Scout, and spoke as follows:

"I am the voice of the Americans of Tomorrow. My com-

rades are making ready their hands and their hearts for the tasks of citizenship. We have dedicated ourselves with the vow which Athenian youths took to their violet-crowned city:

" 'We will never bring disgrace to this our city by any act of dishonor or cowardice, nor ever desert our suffering comrades in the ranks. We will revere and obey the city's laws, and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in those above us who are prone to annul them or set them at naught. We will strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty. Thus in all these ways, we will transmit this city not less but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us.'

"To the flag which our fathers made glorious, which our brothers have made more glorious, we, Makers of Tomorrow, pledge ourselves. As a token of this pledge, I ask the new citizens, the pupils of this school, and all others in the audience who are under twenty-one years of age, to rise and join me in the Salute to the Flag. All together:

I pledge allegiance to my flag
And to the republic for which it stands;
One nation, indivisible,
With liberty and justice for all.

Chairman: "Before concluding this program by singing the national anthem, let me express the gratification we all feel at being permitted to participate in this splendid and inspiring celebration. Our thanks are especially due to the Civic Betterment Club, whose leadership made this meeting possible and such a pronounced success. So long as our young citizens maintain an active interest in the pressing duties and high privileges of American citizenship, we may feel assured that the future of our country is in safe hands."

Questions and Activities

1. What qualities of citizenship are stressed?
2. Arrange to dramatize this selection.

A COURTESY TEST

NORA A. MEHIGAN

Adapted from a story appearing in the November, 1927, issue of *Citizenship Through Character Development*, published by the Boston School Committee.

THE principal of a school in which boys were prepared for college one day received a message from a lawyer living in the same town, requesting him to call at his office, as he wished to have a talk with him. Arrived at the office, the lawyer stated that he had in his gift a scholarship entitling a boy to a four-years' course in a college and that he wished to bestow it where it would be best used.

"Therefore," he continued, "I have concluded to let you decide which boy of your school most deserves it."

"That is a hard question to decide," replied the teacher, thoughtfully. "Two of my pupils, Charles Black and Henry Martin, will complete the course of study in my school this year. Both desire a college education, and neither is able to obtain it without assistance. They are so nearly equal that I cannot tell which is the better scholar. One boy does not more scrupulously observe all the rules of the school than the other," was the answer.

"Well," said the lawyer, "if at the end of the year one boy has not gone ahead of the other, send them to me and I will decide between them."

As before, at the closing examination, the boys stood equal in attainments. They were directed to the lawyer's office, no information being given as to the object of the visit.

Two intelligent, well-bred boys they seemed, and the lawyer was beginning to wonder greatly how he should make a decision between them. Just then the door opened, and an elderly lady of peculiar appearance entered. She was well known as being of unsettled mind, and possessed of the idea that she had been deprived

of a large fortune which was justly hers. As a consequence she was in the habit of visiting lawyers' offices, carrying in her hands a package of papers, which she wished examined. She was a familiar visitor to this office where she was always received with respect, and dismissed with kindly promises of help.

This morning, seeing that the lawyer was already occupied with others, she proceeded to seat herself to await his leisure. Unfortunately, the chair she selected was broken, and had been set aside as useless. The result was that she fell in a rather awkward manner, scattering her papers about the floor. The lawyer looked with a quick eye at the boys, before moving himself, to see what they would do.

Charles, after an amused survey of the fall, turned to hide a laugh he could not control. Henry sprang to the woman's side and lifted her to her feet. Then carefully gathering up her papers, he politely handed them to her. Her profuse and rambling thanks served only to increase Charles's amusement. After the lady had told her customary story, to which the lawyer listened with every appearance of attention, he escorted her to the door and she departed. Then he turned to the boys, and after expressing pleasure at having formed their acquaintance, dismissed them.

The next day the teacher was informed of the occurrence, and told that the scholarship would be given to Henry Martin. The lawyer remarked, "No one so well deserves to be fitted for a position of honor and influence as he who feels it his duty to help the aged and infirm. A boy possessed of such a trait is worth educating."

Questions and Activities

What qualities of a good citizen are illustrated in this story? Tell the class of any similar instance you have witnessed.

JAPANESE COURTESY RULES IN TRAFFIC

PERHAPS the United States, with its highway traffic problems and its innumerable automobile accidents, might take a leaf out of the book of Japan for the regulation of such matters. There, moral suasion is the order of the day, with all possible courtesy. The streets are placarded with conspicuous posters, some of which read as follows:

Oh, automobile! You are beautiful: you are swift; you are powerful. But do not take advantage of your beauty, your speed and your power.

Be considerate of your little brothers, so inferior to you—the dog, the horse, and the pedestrian.

The dog is afraid of your balloon tires, which so easily may crush him. Give him room that he may pass in safety.

The horse is frightened at your noise, your smoke, your bad odors. Avoid offending his ears, his eyes, his nostrils.

The pedestrian seems to be, of all, of the least account to you. Yet you would do well to have pity on him and spare him; for tomorrow he too may be driving a car.

Questions and Activities

You might arrange to have your class prepare another poster by adding matters that apply to your particular locality, and submit it to the proper authorities for posting along the streets.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

William S. Hart

This selection is reprinted, by the kind permission of the author, from an article appearing in *The American Indian Tipi*. Mr. Hart, the well-known screen star, in his boyhood lived among the Sioux Indians and learned to speak their language.

THE Indian—the red American Indian—who once was monarch of all he surveyed; who once was host and the white man was the guest; who once owned nothing except all the land that the United States stands on, now lives a supplicant for American citizenship—and is denied!

Living in the dark does not help one to see the light. And our red brothers are living in the dark. They cannot understand. How can they?

When first they fought in defense of their lands and homes—and whipped us—it was called a massacre. When we fought and whipped them—even to shooting down old Indians, squaws, and papooses in the snow—it was called a battle. "The battle of the Washita!" And when a tender-hearted officer remonstrated at firing on children hiding in the brush, he was told by his commander: "Nits breed lice!" Yet in the late war ten thousand of these red people volunteered, went overseas, and fought like what they were—Americans.

When I spoke on a liberty loan trip at Brooklyn, New York, the whole City Hall Square was packed with over twenty thousand loyal Americans—all with upturned, eager faces, ready and anxious to do their bit to help put over the biggest war in history. An example of the war's cruelty was carried to the platform. One of the committee informed me, "Here's a poor mangled

AMERICAN INDIANS

Guinea—show him to the crowd." I looked at the "poor mangled Guinea." He was an American Indian—and they did not know!

There are many different Indian languages, but I took a chance. I spoke to him in Sioux, the language of the Dakotas, which as a boy I could speak fluently. It was the language of his people. He straightened his bent body. His blue, sweated, trembling chin stood still, and a heavenly light came into his clear, brown eyes. Tears came forth, and they must have come from heaven, too! I asked him in English if he was in pain. He replied, with a pitiable attempt at smiling, "She feel better, some time, when she stop hurtin'." I could not speak. My hand gripped his shoulder. He looked at me and saw my weakness. And to this broken soldier of the trenches must have come a vision of the far-away prairies and the stoicism of his people, for he said in Sioux, slowly, deliberately, proudly, "*A ta nena O he ta ka*" (Our fathers were brave men).

Scarcely three hundred thousand of these Americans are left. They are decreasing at the rate of over two thousand a year. They venerate the sun, the moon, and the stars. They climb to the highest mountain peaks to talk and to pray to the great *Wakan* (our God). Their language is beautifully expressive and seems to signify its meaning in the sound; and because they talk so little their words have a peculiar force. Their morals are beyond question. They love their children. I have never seen a more impressive picture than a Sioux infant at its mother's breast while she crooned to it, "*Ko Ke pa Shna—Ko Ke pa Shna*" (Do not be afraid—do not be afraid).

Their word once given is never broken. The much-quoted term, "Lie like a Sioux," is an infernal, villainous falsehood that found birth in some charlatan's brain. They are hospitable, kind, and generous, and their courage is God-given. I have seen this in the hand-writing of General B. F. Benteen, Seventh Cavalry, United States Army, who fought all through the Indian

wars, in commenting on the Custer fight in which he took part as captain: "We were outnumbered, and by Sioux warriors, the greatest fighters that the sun ever shone on."

These Americans want American citizenship. What can we do? Abolish the Indian Bureau, where millions are being spent yearly to keep the Indian in subjugation. He is subjugated. What he wants is freedom and the endowment of his birthright—American citizenship!

Questions and Activities

1. How many Indians are there in the country at the present time?
2. What provision does the government make for the Indians?
3. What excellent qualities does the American Indian possess?

WHEN AN INDIAN IS ADMITTED TO CITIZENSHIP

FRANKLIN K. LANE

THE Secretary stands before one of the candidates and says: "Joseph T. Cook, what was your Indian name?"

"Tunkansapa,"* answers the Indian.

"Tunkansapa, I hand you a bow and arrow. Take this bow and shoot the arrow."

The Indian does so.

"Tunkansapa, you have shot your last arrow. That means you are no longer to live the life of an Indian. You are from this day forward to live the life of a white man. But you may keep that arrow. It will be to you a symbol of your noble race and of the pride you may feel that you come from the first of all Americans."

Addressing Tunkansapa by his white name:

* Tūn ká sā′ pȧ

"Joseph T. Cook, take in your hands this plough." Cook does so. "This act means that you have chosen to live the life of the white man. The white man lives by work. From the earth we must all get our living, and the earth will not yield unless man pours upon it the sweat of his brow.

"Joseph T. Cook, I give you a purse. It will always say to you that the money you gain must be wisely kept. The wise man saves his money, so that when the sun does not smile and the grass does not grow he will not starve."

The Secretary now takes up the American flag. He and the Indian hold it together.

"I give into your hands the flag of your country. This is the only flag you ever will have. It is the flag of the free man, the flag of a hundred million free men and women, of whom you are now one. That flag has a request to make of you, Joseph T. Cook, that you repeat these words."

Cook then repeats the following after the Secretary:

"Forasmuch as the President has said that I am worthy to be a citizen of the United States, I now promise this flag that I will give my hands, my head, and my heart to the doing of all that will make me a true American citizen."

The Secretary then takes a badge upon which is the American eagle, with the national colors, and pinning it upon the Indian's breast, speaks as follows:

"And now beneath the flag, I place upon your breast the emblem of citizenship. Wear this badge always, and may the eagle that is on it never see you do aught of which the flag will not be proud."

CARRYING A MESSAGE FROM GRANT TO LINCOLN

Henry E. Wing

ON MAY 4, 1864, the Army of the North, directed by its new commander, General Ulysses S. Grant, disappeared utterly from the public view. This movement was deliberately planned. Previous campaigns of the Army of the Potomac had been directed largely from Washington. When General Grant was given supreme command, President Lincoln wrote to him: "The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know."

The Army of the South, under command of its great chieftain, General Robert E. Lee, was at this time at and about Orange Court House, with Richmond as its base. "The objective point," Grant wrote to General Meade, "will be Lee's army. Where he goes there you will go also." But in order to reach Lee's army, the Union forces, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, must be moved across the Rapidan River by way of only two available fords, then for some distance through an almost impenetrable wilderness before Lee could discover and intercept them. This was no small task. It required forced marches and constant push. Indeed, it was the failure of General Warren to keep pushing on until his forces joined those of General Hancock, that gave General Lee an initial advantage in the ensuing terrible Battle of the Wilderness, which began with an attack by Lee's forces on the afternoon of May 5th.

I was the youngest of four correspondents whom the *New York Tribune* had in the field. At the close of the first day's fighting, we came together at army headquarters for a conference. The battle was to be renewed the next morning. It was an open secret that General Meade had suggested a retreat across the river

under cover of the night and a fresh start over some more promising route; that General Grant had vetoed the proposition and had ordered the lines to be formed for an assault upon the enemy at daybreak. It was decided that one of us should start for the North with the reports of the stirring events of the past two days, and I volunteered to undertake this perilous journey. How full of peril the undertaking really was may be inferred from the fact that of four or five messengers for different newspapers I was the only one who had the good fortune to get through.

After making preparations for leaving early the next morning, I called upon General Grant and told him that I was leaving for Washington the next day, and asked him if he had any message to the people that I could insert in my dispatches to the *Tribune*.

"Well, yes," he replied, "you may tell the people that things are going swimmingly down here."

The remark was so evasive, in the midst of a battle in which every one of his plans had evidently gone wrong, that I smiled as I entered the exact words in my notebook, thanked him, and turned away. I had only taken a step or two before he joined me. When we had walked out of hearing of his companions he laid his hand upon my shoulder and inquired, "You expect to get through to Washington?"

I replied that that was my purpose, and that I should start at daybreak.

Then, in a low tone, he said: "Well, if you see the President, tell him from me that, whatever happens, there will be no turning back."

At four o'clock the next morning, mounted on a Kentucky-bred racing horse, I started on my important mission. After passing out of the Northern army lines, I had several hair-breadth escapes from capture by scattered Confederate troops. At the suggestion of a Union sympathizer who had given me timely assistance, I exchanged my regular dress for a "Butternut" suit, with coarse brogans and a disreputable hat of quilted cotton,

and adopted the ruse of being a Confederate messenger conveying to our friends at Washington the news of Lee's victory over Grant. After fording the Rapidan, I was compelled to abandon my horse in order to avoid capture; and despite many narrow escapes, I finally reached the post headquarters of the Northern army at Union Mills.

I found that I was the first newspaper man—indeed, the only man from the front—to cross the Bull Run River. This made my news doubly valuable. The nearest public telegraph station was at Alexandria, twenty miles away. That office would close at midnight. To accomplish a "scoop" on all the other papers, I must make that twenty miles in three hours. Since all means of conveyance was under army control, I was unable to secure assistance at any price. I offered a thousand dollars for the use of a horse and guide to Alexandria, but to no avail. In desperation, I began studying on how I could frame a telegram sufficiently "official" to have it sent over the government wire which was near at hand. The Hon. Charles A. Dana was a personal friend of mine, and was Assistant Secretary of War. If I could get him on the wire, something might possibly be done; so I wrote a dispatch, as a "feeler," directed to him officially, as follows:

"*I am just in from the front. Left Grant at four o'clock this morning.*"

A response came immediately, but from the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton:

"*Where did you leave General Grant?*"

What? Even the government had no knowledge of events at the front? It was apparent that, excepting those on the battle line, I had all the information there was of the momentous movements across the Rapidan. But I would be modest and generous. I wired Mr. Stanton that if he would let me send one hundred words over the government line, I would tell him all that I knew. He then wired a repetition of his former demand, in more peremptory terms. I replied that my news

belonged to the *New York Tribune*, and that he would have to negotiate with them for its release. But I renewed my offer.

Five minutes afterward, at a call from the operator, the post commander came in. He looked at a telegram handed him; and he then informed me that Mr. Stanton had ordered my arrest as a spy unless I would uncover my news from the front. Of course that settled it. I would not have told him one little word to save my life. But here I was at the end of my resources. It had been my purpose, if he finally refused my offer, to start afoot for Alexandria in a frantic effort to make the twenty miles by midnight, but now there was nothing to be done but to submit. This news, that the whole country was lying awake for, was tied up here with a strip of dirty red tape, and I was under arrest as a Confederate spy!

Upon giving my word not to run away, I was spared the further disgrace of being locked up in the guardhouse and was given the freedom of the camp. I lay down on a bench in the little station, hungry, tired, disgusted, and for the first time utterly discouraged.

Then something occurred that I cannot explain. I knew nothing of the telegraph code, but as a message was being ticked off on the tape, some subtle current of influence touched my apprehension. I knew that it was for me. I sprang to my feet.

"What is it?" was my question.

"Mr. Lincoln wants to know if you will tell him where Grant is."

I repeated my offer—to communicate whatever information I had, for the use of the wire to transmit one hundred words to the *New York Tribune*. He accepted my terms without hesitation, only suggesting that my statement to my paper be so full as to disclose to the public the general situation.

Nothing now was the matter with me. I was neither tired, hungry, nor sleepy. Standing by the operator at Union Mills, I dictated the half-column dispatch which appeared in the *Tribune* on the morning of Saturday, May 7, 1864. Mr. Lincoln, with his

LINCOLN WITH HIS WAR CABINET

characteristic thoughtfulness for the public interests, arranged for the transfer to the Associated Press of a short summary of the news, and thus the whole country was set at ease.

A locomotive was sent down for me, and about two o'clock in the morning I reached the White House, where the President had gathered his official family to meet me. As I stepped into the room where they were seated my glance caught a quick gleam of surprise and apprehension in Mr. Lincoln's eyes, and I was awakened to a sense of my disreputable appearance. My hair was disheveled, my shabby old coat was dusty and wrinkled, my pantaloons, much too long, were folded back at the bottom and gathered about my ankles with pieces of cotton twine, and my coarse shoes were coated three or four layers thick with Virginia mud. I had met, perhaps, every one of this company at public functions or in private interviews, but not one of them recognized me in this garb. As my glance swept around the group it rested on the genial countenance of a particular friend, Mr. Welles, the Secretary of the Navy. As I advanced and accosted him he identified me by my voice. He then presented me, with much embarrassing formality, to the others.

A half hour or more was spent in describing the movements of the troops and explaining, with the aid of a large map on the wall, the situation at the time I left. Then as the company was dispersing, I turned to Mr. Lincoln and said: "Mr. President, I have a personal word for you."

The others withdrew and he closed the door and advanced toward me. As he stood there I realized as never before how tall he was. I looked up into his impassive face, ready to deliver Grant's message. He took a short, quick step toward me, and, stooping to bring his eyes level with mine, whispered, in tones of intense, impatient interest, "What is it?"

I was so moved that I could hardly stammer: "General Grant told me to tell you, from him, that, whatever happens, there is to be no turning back."

The vision that opened through those wonderful eyes from a great soul glowing with a newly kindled hope is the likeness of Mr. Lincoln that I still hold in my memory, and ever shall. And that hope was never to be extinguished. Others had "turned back." Every other one had. But there had come an end of that fatal folly.

Mr. Lincoln put his great, strong arms about me and, carried away in the exuberance of his gladness, imprinted a kiss upon my forehead. We sat down again; and then I disclosed to him all the disheartening details of that dreadful day in the wilderness. But I could assure him that the Army of the Potomac, in all its history, was never in such hopeful spirit as when they discovered, at the close of a day of disappointment, that they were not to "turn back."

Questions and Activities

1. What does this story reveal of the character of the author? of General Grant? of Secretary Stanton? of President Lincoln?

2. Tell of some other incident regarding Lincoln that is as interesting as this one.

THE STONE MOUNTAIN MEMORIAL

HAVE you read the legend of the Great Stone Face, by Nathaniel Hawthorne? You will recall that the story describes a natural collection of rocks upon a mountainside so grouped and proportioned that they formed a gigantic face whose features gave one the impression of benignity, goodness, kindness, and true nobility. And the story tells of a boy who lived in the valley, shut off from the world in part by the mountain on whose side the image stood. This boy looked upon the Great Stone Face year after year as a child, and year after year through manhood, until in after days you could see in his face the same indications of goodness and nobility that characterized the stone image. Hawthorne adds that to look upon the Great Stone Face was "an education in itself"; that "it shaped the soul of the boy, and the soul fashioned his face."

This legend reveals the true purpose of a memorial: to inspire in the beholder thoughts and deeds that reflect nobility of character. Such is the purpose of a gigantic plan to carve upon the side of Stone Mountain the statues of outstanding southern characters.

Stone Mountain is situated in the state of Georgia, about twenty miles northeast of Atlanta. As its name implies, it is literally a mountain of stone. It stands alone in the midst of a plain, the largest body of exposed granite in the world. It is eight thousand feet long; seven miles around the base; and a mile to the summit up the sloping side. On three sides this mountain slopes off gradually in irregular shapes and formations. On the north side it drops straight down from top to bottom—a majestic and awe-inspiring precipice nine hundred feet high.

On the granite surface of this precipice there is being carved the figures of a group of southern heroes that will form a stupendous panorama extending across the precipice a quarter of a mile

or more. The first completed unit of the group is the figure of Robert E. Lee mounted on his horse "Traveler." This mounted statue was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on April 9, 1928, the signal for the unveiling being given by Master Robert Edward Lee, then three years of age, the great grandson and namesake of General Lee. Speaking of the Memorial in general, and of the statue of Lee in particular, the Association in charge of the project has issued a statement from which the following is quoted:

"The size of the figures is to be in scale with the size of the Mountain, which will result in sculpture of such stupendous magnitude as was never projected by the imagination of man in all the past history of sculpture. It has been said by a distinguished authority that all other sculptured monuments of earth, whether of marble or granite or bronze, if they could be combined in a single monument, would not compare in magnitude or grandeur with a single figure of the central group of the Stone Mountain Memorial.

"Some idea of the size of the figures may be conveyed by the statement that the mounted statue of General Lee, from the top of his head to the feet of his horse, is as high as a ten-story office building. The Lion of Lucerne could be placed in the crook of the left elbow of General Lee and would not be visible from the ground without field glasses. The Great Sphinx of Egypt could be placed on the neck of General Lee's horse. The Washington Monument, 556 feet high, the tallest structure of its kind in the world, if transplanted to the base of Stone Mountain, would reach above the heads of the riders in the central group, but would not be wide enough to conceal the figure of any horse or any rider.

"There is another and more important and significant particular in which this monument differs from and surpasses all others. The monuments of Egypt were erected to glorify the vanity and splendor of Egyptian kings. They represented nothing more than human vanity glorified by human slavery. The monuments

of Greece were erected to glorify the perfection of the human form. They represented no ideal except the ideal of physical beauty. The monuments of Rome were erected to perpetuate the glory of Roman dominion—the march of the Roman legions from the deserts of India to the British Isles. They represented nothing more than the Roman lust for power and the Roman worship of military conquest.

"But here we have a monument, as pointed out in a recent address by Hollins N. Randolph, which shall perpetuate the glory and splendor of human character—a monument dedicated to the highest attributes of the human spirit—a monument which shall hand down to endless generations the inspiration of the life of Robert E. Lee. We are not engaged at Stone Mountain in glorifying the military genius of General Lee, great and glorious as it was. We are not glorifying the military victories achieved by the soldiers who fought his battles, sublime and wonderful though they were. The ideal our children shall take away from that majestic and beautiful sculpture will not be the ideal of military conquest. It will not be the ideal of physical beauty. It will not be the ideal of the splendor of kings and Pharaohs. What we are glorifying on Stone Mountain is loyalty to principle, devotion to duty, and sacrifice of self—and 'no generation of youths shall ever pass that way and be the same again, for in their hearts will burn forever the light of that ineffable symbol.' "

In accepting Lee's statue on behalf of the South, upon the occasion of the unveiling ceremonies, Judge Marcus W. Beck, of the Supreme Court of Georgia, concluded his address as follows:

"This statue is the child of genius. It is the realization of a woman's dream [referring to Mrs. Helen Plane]. It is an answer to prayer. It is a holy memento, reminding us of a page in our history, a sacred and stainless page—a page upon which is written the name of Robert E. Lee. And that name should be written in letters of gold and each letter thickly studded with blazing jewels, whose blessed beams shall in the future years light honor's

THE STONE MOUNTAIN MEMORIAL IN PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTION

way and duty's path for the coming youth, and kindle in their generous bosoms the eternal flames of a holy patriotism."

On the same occasion Mayor James J. Walker of New York City said in part:

"Our country will be the richer and your children's children will be better Americans with the consummation of this great monument. What a sublime conception to have made it of living granite! What an honorable thought to place imperishably before the people of the world, and particularly before the people of America, that countenance as an everlasting reminder of one of the most beautiful lives in all the history of mankind. I cannot think of a day since I first saw a picture of Robert E. Lee that I have not thought of him as the embodiment of strength and gentleness, of nobility and genius. I can think of no character in all the history of the world more inspiring than that of Robert E. Lee. With all his greatness, such a modesty; with all his genius, such a proclivity for self-effacement!

"On yonder mountain-side is carved his noble figure, and there it will remain for the inspiration of future generations. The pyramids have crumbled, and long after you and I shall have been forgotten, there he will remain, unlike any other that I know of, in whom God coupled saint and warrior. There he will remain as a beacon, lighting generations to come and filling them with a patriotism touching devotion and service. And may our children learn to revere his memory and couple it with the name of Washington himself, for the greater honor and the greater glory of our common country."

Questions and Activities

1. Read an account of the life of Robert E. Lee and be able to make a report to the class.

2. What famous memorial or statue have you seen? Describe it to the class.

3. State in your own words the significance of this memorial.

THE EAGLET'S FATAL FLIGHT

WYTHE WILLIAMS

The author of this story was war correspondent in France for the *New York Times* from 1914 to 1917. Ten years later, while the American Legion was holding its annual convention in Paris, Mr. Williams cabled a dispatch to the *Times* from the tiny village of Chamery, France, "on the road to Rheims." The following story is adapted, by permission, from this cable message.

IN THE pink dawn of a summer morning, July 14, 1918, the eaglet took his flight. Below, above, and all about him the mists were drifting as the curtain rose on the last act of the drama of the Marne.

But enemy eagles also were aloft, circling and soaring and battling. Three against one, and no quarter, naturally. There was no such word in the vocabulary of the war eagles. And so the eaglet fell within enemy lines. In a peaceful field he lay; in a gentle valley caressed by the low, enfolding hills.

That night the eagles came and buried him. Into the moon-path they marched and uplifted him—those broken bits—from the wreckage of his plane, and raised there a cross. Gallant enemies! But the eagles all were gallant. The next day in the official communiqué of the Allies was merely the information supplied by Germany.

Today we visited this grave of the lone warrior. It seemed fitting during this week of the Legion convention to make such a pilgrimage far from the well-ordered cemeteries where sleep in serried ranks our soldier dead. For we had talked with him the day before he died—in Paris, in a café where he shyly confided his ambition to prove worthily that he was his father's son. We came alone today, for the way is long and vaguely marked, and muddy. In village after village we asked our way, and the

people stared and shrugged until we came very near to Chamery. Then they smiled and showed the path.

"Ah, the young Lieutenant!" they said. "So very young, so very brave, the way is there. Oh, a mile or more over those meadows, and far off the road."

We left our automobile and plodded on, an old man guiding us, with his boy, shotguns over their arms for a rabbit or partridge. Oozy, white, slimy was the mud of the Aisne Valley, through which we often had waded these years gone from the Marne to the Chemin des Dames. Over a brown hill we saw the grave, sheltered in a small thicket, surrounded by a low wooden fence. The old man and the boy wandered off on their own serious business. We stood at the grave alone.

the mud off his boots and, beside us, leaned against the fence.

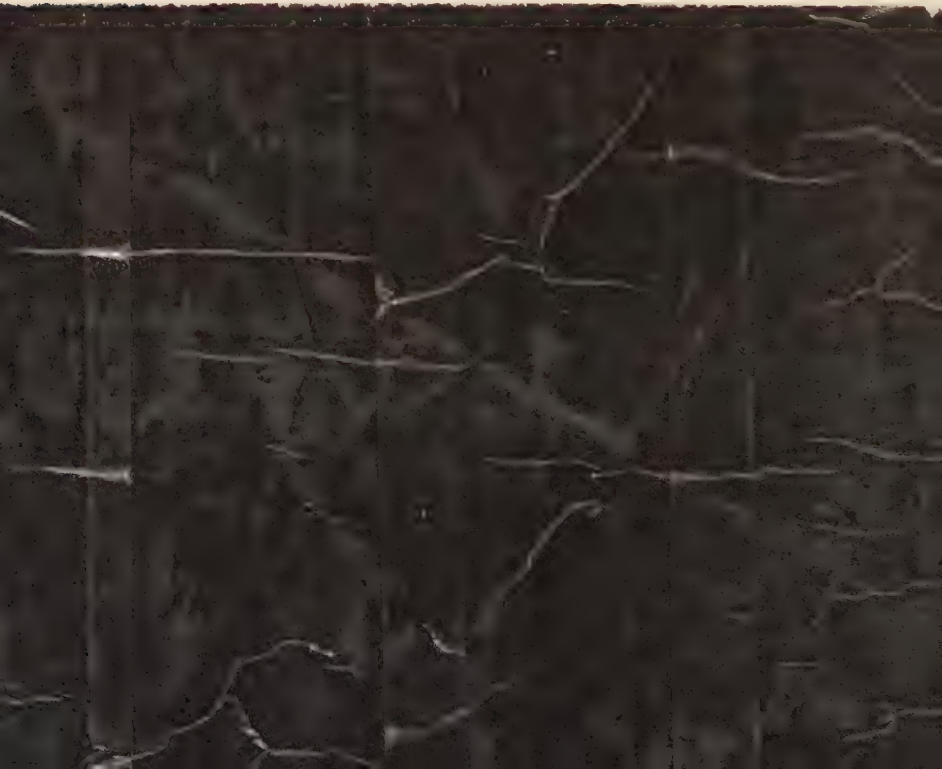
"His father put that there," he said, pointing at the marble slab. "Yes, he did that, and we have hope in that inscription, and we pray."

We wondered, and leaning low, pushed the brambles aside from the marble slab, and read the inscription.

"He has outsoared the shadows of our night," this dead boy's father wrote, and beside this just his name—Quentin Roosevelt.

Questions and Activities

1. Who was the eaglet? the eagles?
2. Explain the quotation: "He has outsoared the shadows of our night."



"A YOUNG AMERICAN AT HIS BEST"

"WELL, let's go!" said Charles A. Lindbergh, the twenty-five-year-old United States air-mail pilot, as he climbed into the cockpit of his small monoplane, *The Spirit of St. Louis*, at Roosevelt Field, Long Island, on the morning of May 20, 1927, and with two sandwiches and a bottle of water for baggage, jumped off all alone on his non-stop flight from New York to Paris.

"Well, here we are!" he remarked thirty-three hours and thirty minutes later, as he landed at the Bourget Air Field, outside Paris, and the waiting thousands nearly wrecked his plane in their wild welcome.

When people recovered from their surprise, they realized that this unknown boy had dared and won the greatest flying feat in all history. In the few hours between his hop-off and landing he won for himself the immortality of fame and the enthusiastic admiration of the world.

For eight years prior to Lindbergh's flight there had been a standing offer of a prize to the first aviator who made a non-stop flight between New York and Paris. Two courageous Frenchmen had lost their lives in an attempt to fly from France to America. Several American aviators were making preparations to undertake a flight to Paris, and the newspapers were full of the details of their plans and movements. Almost unannounced, young Lindbergh, after testing *The Spirit of St. Louis* by flying from San Diego to New York, with a single stop at St. Louis, arose very early one May morning and flew away over the Atlantic while others were still making preparations. The telegraph, cable, and radio carried the news of his hop-off to all parts of the world. People everywhere, from the crowded cities to the remotest rural sections, were talking about this great adventure, and hoping and praying that the daring flyer would land safely.

No wonder that the one hundred thousand persons who had assembled at his landing place went wild with joy. And this was only the beginning of a round of receptions and honors such as probably were never before accorded to any individual. Lindbergh had scarcely awakened at the American Embassy the afternoon following his arrival, when the Mayor of Paris called to pay the respects of the city—an honor hitherto reserved for royalty. The President of the French Republic decorated him with the Cross of the Legion of Honor. Other decorations for distinguished service followed in quick succession. On May 28th he flew to Brussels. Here he was welcomed by King Albert and the Queen at the Royal Palace, and the decoration of Knighthood of the Order of Leopold was pinned on his coat by the King. Flying from Brussels to a landing field near London, Lindbergh was received by what was said to have been the largest crowd ever assembled on the British Isles to welcome a private citizen. The King and Queen of England received him at Buckingham Palace, where he was presented with the Air Force Cross. In short, he received the highest honors that France, Belgium, and Great Britain could bestow. No king or emperor ever received greater homage or such universal acclaim.

Meanwhile preparations were made for tendering Lindbergh, first of all upon his return to America, an official reception by the President. The *Memphis*, a Government cruiser, conveyed him from France directly to Washington. Here this young air-mail pilot, who had spanned the Atlantic and reaped the glory of the adoration of foreign lands, was received on June 11th amid such a welcome as few returning heroes ever enjoyed. The "Lone Eagle" (as he was called by reason of the circumstances attending his trans-Atlantic flight) was not alone at this time. At the head of a triumphant parade, he rode beside his mother, a teacher in the schools of Detroit, along historic Pennsylvania Avenue, while the resounding cheers of half a million people, from the smallest and noisiest boy in the streets to the President

himself, gave evidence of the greatest reception that any individual, whether king, military hero, or private citizen, ever received in the century and more of Washington's history. At the end of the parade, under the shadow of the Washington Monument, waited the President of the United States to bestow upon his guest the new Distinguished Flying Cross.

Next came a reception in New York City, lasting four days, that eclipsed all the former records of a city famed for big receptions. The Mayor proclaimed Monday, June 13, 1927, as a day of public celebration. One million school children were freed from books for the day to join in the reception. Hundreds released from office work were joined by thousands of visitors from all parts of the surrounding country. The Lone Eagle landed in an amphibian plane in New York harbor, whence he was taken in a municipal tug to the Battery. At this point commenced a parade which outdid anything of this nature ever before witnessed in the metropolis. Eight thousand policemen, standing at five- and ten-foot intervals, guarded the line of march from the Battery to the City Hall and thence to Central Park, but these officers could not prevent the perfect snow-storm of confetti which required the employment of an extra large force later to remove from the streets and sidewalks. This was but one of the many evidences of the unrestrained enthusiasm of the people, incited by this young man who less than four weeks previously hopped off from Roosevelt Field on his flight to Paris, and as a result received a total of eighteen decorations for distinguished service, including the following five bestowed during the New York City celebration: The Cross of Honor of the United States Flag Association; the Medal of the City of New York; the Gold Medal of the French Geographic Society; the Gold Medal of the German Automobile Club; and the Plus Ultra Medal of the Spanish Government.

While the story of Lindbergh's exploit is one of unusual daring, it was in no sense a haphazard or foolhardy adventure. For

years he had been preparing for the undertaking. In 1912, while his father was a representative in Congress from Minnesota, young Lindbergh, then a boy ten years of age, who frequently played pranks with Quentin Roosevelt about the White House, saw his first airplane near Washington. "From that time," he says, "I had been fascinated with flying, although up to the time I enrolled in a flying school in 1922 I had never been near enough to a plane to touch it." While a student at the University of Wisconsin, his intense interest in aviation finally came to receive first consideration, and he entered a flying school conducted by the Nebraska Aircraft Corporation. In about two months his instructor said he might solo (that is, fly alone), but since the Corporation required for this purpose a bond to cover possible breakage, which Lindbergh with his limited resources was unable to furnish, he did not take a plane up by himself until several months later. Meantime he went with other flyers on barnstorming trips over parts of Nebraska, Kansas, and Montana. ("Barnstorming" is the aviator's term for flying about the country from one town to another and taking passengers for short flights.) During this time he practiced parachute-dropping and "wing-walking"—standing on one of the wing tips of the plane while flying low.

In the spring of 1923 Lindbergh made his way to Americus, Georgia, where he realized his ambition to have an airplane of his own. The United States Government was selling at auction a large number of "Jennies," as the war-time training planes were called. Lindbergh bought one of these ships with a new Curtiss motor and full equipment for five hundred dollars. In a story written for the *World's Work* of September, 1927, he says:

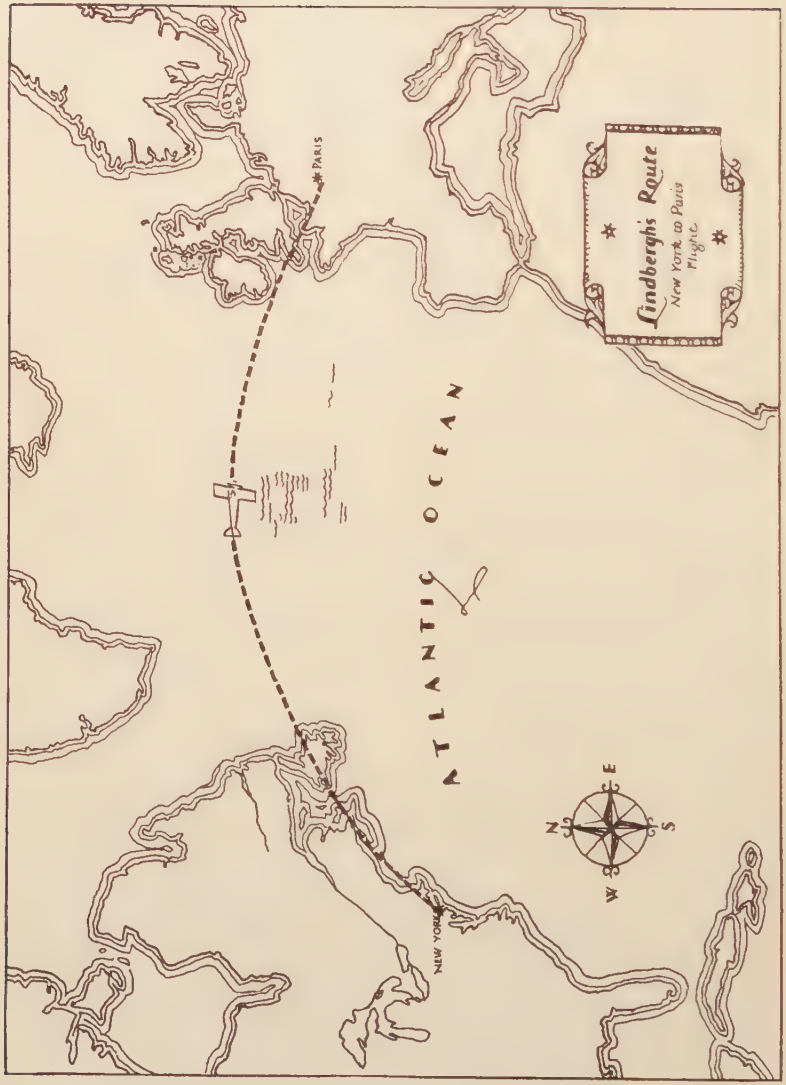
"I had not soloed up to the time I bought my 'Jenny' at Americus. After my training at Lincoln I had not been able to furnish the required bond. Therefore, when my Jenny was completely assembled and ready to fly I was undecided as to the best method of procedure. No one on the field knew that I had never soloed. I had not been in a plane for six months; but I did not have suffi-

cient money to pay for more instruction, so one day I taxied to one end of the field, opened the throttle and started to take off. When the plane was about four feet off the ground, the right wing began to drop, so I decided it was time to make a landing, I accomplished this on one wheel, without doing any damage to the ship. I noticed that the wind was blowing hard and suddenly decided that I should wait for calmer weather before making any more flights . . . . When evening came I taxied out from the line, took one last look at the instruments, and took off on my first solo. The first solo flight is one of the events in a pilot's life which forever remains impressed on his memory. It is the culmination of difficult hours of instruction, hard weeks of training, and often years of anticipation. To be absolutely alone for the first time in the cockpit of a plane hundreds of feet above the ground is an experience never to be forgotten."

On March 15, 1924, Lindbergh arrived at Brooks Field, San Antonio, for government training as a pilot. After completing the course there, he was transferred to Kelly Field, the graduate school of Army flyers. The courses of instruction at these fields are very exacting. Of the one hundred and four cadets who entered with Lindbergh's class, thirty finished their primary training at Brooks Field, and only eighteen, of whom Lindbergh was one, graduated at Kelly.

The next important step in way of preparation for his trans-Atlantic flight was an invaluable training as a government air-mail pilot, flying at night between St. Louis and Chicago. Four times during his brief experience he had to seek safety in descent by parachute from a doomed plane. Further, the training of the air-mail pilots seems to develop a sense of direction, of air-currents, of drifts, like that of a bird. This experience, therefore, stood him in good stead when he came to make his sensational trans-oceanic flight.

During the fall of 1926 Lindbergh began to make plans to fly to Paris. He first secured financial backing from friends in


Lindbergh's Route
New York to Paris
Flight
PARIS
NEW YORK
ATLANTIC OCEAN
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St. Louis. He had a very definite idea of the kind of plane he wanted. After vain attempts to purchase outright a satisfactory plane, he finally made a contract with the Ryan Aircroft Company at San Diego, California, to build for him *The Spirit of St. Louis*. During the two months while his plane was under construction, Lindbergh remained at San Diego. He lived aviation and nothing else. He spent the days at the Ryan factory or at the flying field, keeping a keen watch upon every detail in the construction of his plane, testing and planning. Aside from taking long walks to keep himself in good physical condition, he spent his time studying and planning for his flight. Whenever he heard some skeptic advance a reason why the flight would fail, he wrote it down in a notebook. When he had found an answer to the skeptic's argument and worked out a way of meeting the difficulty, he would mark it out. He spent many days in concentrated study of numerous maps, charts, and navigation books, and worked out his plan for the navigation of the Atlantic from which he never deviated and which never even threatened to fail him.

As the time approached for the flight he considered the problem of sleep and engaged in trials of his ability to keep awake. First he remained awake twenty-four, then thirty, and finally thirty-five hours to prove that he could do it. Aside from this practice, which was an important factor in his preparations, Lindbergh habitually conserved every ounce of his physical resources. He avoided unnatural stimulants of any kind. He does not use either liquor or tobacco in any form.

Thus we see that the nickname of "Lucky Lindy" was earned by rigid discipline and the most painstaking preparations. He knew what he wanted to do, learned all he could about it, and stuck to his job. But with all such preparation and concentrated effort, the actual hop-off for Paris required courage none the less. He was dependent upon himself alone. With no flying companion to consult with or aid him, this "Lone Eagle" dared

to embark upon a flight over the trackless ocean. For about a thousand miles of his long journey, he flew through fog and rain and sleet, without sight of the sea beneath. For seventeen hundred miles, between Newfoundland and Ireland, there was no landfall possible, nor had he ever seen the land he finally sighted. The monotonous hum of the motor continuously for a day and a half would naturally produce drowsiness, but an instant's sleep meant almost certain death. Yet with all these difficulties and hazards, he followed very closely the course he had previously mapped out, and he picked up the Seine, to guide him to Paris in the gathering dark of a second night, as if it were a familiar landmark. He arrived at his destination three hours ahead of scheduled time, making the trip of 3,800 miles at an average speed of one hundred and thirteen miles an hour.

Notable as was young Lindbergh's achievement, it alone would not have brought him such universal popularity, both in America and abroad, without certain elements of character and conduct that mark the great man. First of all, everyone admired his reserve, modesty, and poise. There was no "brag and bluster," either before or after his marvelous flight. He modestly gave the greater share of the credit for his success to his earth-inductor compass and Wright air-cooled engine. His beloved plane was so much a part of him that he afterwards always said that "we" made the trip. On the deck of the *Memphis*, as it steamed slowly up the Potomac toward the immense throng awaiting his arrival in Washington, Lindbergh said, "I wonder if I really deserve all this." If we remember that he had been flattered more than enough to turn the head of many a man, whether old or young, we can appreciate all the more the significance of President Coolidge's eulogy during his reception speech in Washington: "He has returned to us unspoiled."

Then, too, the people were pleased with Lindbergh's high standards and common sense. They applauded his courage in declining "easy money" and the cheap notoriety which others of

less sterling character mistake for fame. The usual offers that follow such exploits came to him from vaudeville, motion picture, and other commercial enterprises. Contracts were tendered which would yield him, it is said, a million dollars at once and an annual income of several hundred thousands for the next five years. All such offers he declined with the remark. "This flight was not undertaken for the purpose of making money." A director of one of the largest aircraft companies in the United States offered Lindbergh a position at anything he wished at any salary, and received this reply: "I don't want any more money than I am worth. I won't take any job to capitalize my name. If I should decide to work for you, I want to be paid what I can actually earn. I'm not worth much except my name, and I won't sell that."

"What is money in the presence of Charles A. Lindbergh?" asked Judge Charles E. Hughes in a speech during the reception to Lindbergh in New York City. "His character and conduct have lifted us into the freer and upper air that is his home. He has revealed to us the real resources of our national wealth. From an unspoiled home, with its traditions of industry, of frugality and honor, steps swiftly into our gaze this young man, showing us the unmeasured treasures of American character. He represents to us, fellow Americans, all that we wish—a young American at his best."

Questions and Activities

1. List all the ways in which Lindbergh made preparation for his great flight.

2. How did Lindbergh apply the maxim of "Safety First"?

3. Why has Lindbergh been called "Lucky Lindy," "The Lone Eagle," "The Ace of American Diplomats," "Our Ambassador of Good Will without Portfolio," and "The Columbus of the Air"?

4. What reason did Judge Hughes have for saying that Lindbergh represents to us "a young American at his best"?

THE MAN WHO LOVED WORK

LOREN PALMER

SOMEONE was leaning over my seat in the Pullman. I looked up to see who was so interested in the book I held. The man who placed a short, powerful hand on the page of print was the great hero of my boyhood. He was the man who wrote *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*, the book that set all the youngsters of my day to plaiting quirts out of leather thongs and in imagination riding range and fighting cattle rustlers. The fact that the man happened at that moment to be the President of the United States was of less importance.

The book which the President took from my hand and began to leaf over rapidly was a volume of Stevenson's poems.

"Here it is," said the pleasant, incisive voice. "This is my favorite Stevenson." And the President read aloud:

For still the Lord is Lord of might;
  In deeds, in deeds, he takes delight;
The plough, the spear, the laden barks,
  The field, the founded city, marks;
He marks the smiler of the streets,
  The singer upon garden seats;
He sees the climber in the rocks:
  To him the shepherd folds his flocks.
For those he loves that underprop
  With daily virtues Heaven's top,
And bear the falling sky with ease,
  Unfrowning caryatides.
Those he approves that ply the trade,
  That rock the child, that wed the maid,
That with weak virtues, weaker hands,
  Sow gladness on the peopled lands
And still with laughter, song and shout
  Spin the great wheel of earth about.

The reader repeated the last two lines of the poem and laid the volume on my knee. I have the book beside me as I write. On the margin of the page is a penciled note: "T. R. said this best expressed his idea of the way to live."

T. R.—of course you've recognized the initials. It is interesting that Theodore Roosevelt and Robert Louis Stevenson, the man who found his inspiration in the poem and the man who wrote it, should have had the best known and most beloved initials in the world. Those last lines,

> And still with laughter, song and shout
> Spin the great wheel of earth about,

are so much T. R. that you would have thought R. L. S. had him in mind when they were written, had that been possible. For Colonel Roosevelt's days on earth were days of joyous work. Do you remember the great cartoon that J. N. Darling drew when my hero died? It showed the colonel astride a wiry bronco, turning in his saddle as the horse topped the rise of the Great Divide and with upflung hand waving the battered Rough Rider hat in a hail and farewell. Darling called it, "The Long, Long Trail," but in my own mind I have always captioned it, "He Had a Bully Time."

I was privileged to see him have a part of that bully time; to see Colonel Roosevelt at work and at play; to be by his side when he faced the biggest fight of his life, and to have a last glimpse of him a few months before the great flame died down and flickered out.

Here is what I best remember:

A man who knew a great deal, as our human knowledge goes, of life and of books, and who was very simple about it.

A man who loved the out-of-doors and to whom the life of forest and plain and field was so absorbing that he could and did interrupt the eloquence of an ambassador of a great nation to give ear to a warbler's song.

A man who was interested in *everything* and *everybody*, not with the easy-going interest of the clever politician, but with the whole-hearted interest of an active-minded boy.

A man who worked hard with his body and with his mind and who kept fit that he might be able to do what he had to do with all his might.

And all the many things he did were done "with laughter, song, and shout." Not that Mr. Roosevelt was much of a singer. His vigor, as he joined in the hymns in the little church at Oyster Bay, was the most outstanding part of the performance. The notes that rolled out of that great barrel of a chest that he'd built upon the puny frame that was his as a youngster had much more power than tune. But there was no doubt that it was a joyous performance.

After church one early spring morning I joined Colonel Roosevelt to walk with him back to Sagamore Hill. We talked, as we walked. Someone in a newspaper editorial had referred to him as a "superman." I remarked that the paragrapher had chosen an excellent example. Mr. Roosevelt halted abruptly and made a most emphatic denial of the gift of greatness.

"Superman!" said Colonel Roosevelt, his voice rising. "Not at all. I know a great many men who do all the things I do and do them better. I don't shoot very well, though I have killed most kinds of big game. I don't shoot well because my eyesight is poor and I have to be close to my mark before I can see it. The same applies to boxing. I like to box, and I have boxed with some very good men, but I never was really good as a boxer. I know dozens of men who ride better than I do. I play bumble-puppy tennis—" Here he laughed at the picture of strenuous ineptness his words called up.

He paused a moment and then went on more seriously. "As you know, I'm not much of an orator, though I have done a great deal of public speaking. I have written much but I cannot take high rank as a writer."

Theodore Roosevelt Out West

Another pause, and then his face lighted up with the famous smile, and his blackthorn stick thumped an imaginary head as he exclaimed: "No, I don't do anything exceptionally well, *but by George I work at it.*"

You might say that Mr. Roosevelt had understated his skill in some things and that he left out of his list some of the most important of his attributes of greatness—his ability to attract followers from all ranks of mankind, his courage, and his shrewd sense of values. But those who had called him a superman had dwelt on his physical side because it seemed extraordinary that a man of his day should be not only the leader of his nation but also Rough Rider, big game hunter, explorer, naturalist, and author. Any one of his major activities would have made him noted, but he knew that when the world marveled at him it was his untiring physical energy that they thought of first of all. And he wanted it made clear that his success in all his undertakings lay not in unusual *natural skill* but came about because, as he said, "by George I work at it!"

Everybody knows that he started with the handicap of a rather frail body. Few knew until after his death that he had for years been practically blind in one eye as the result of a blow received while boxing. But the bad eyesight no more halted his hunting nor dulled his interest in bird study than the frail body had halted his adventures as a boy. If he couldn't do a particular thing as easily as others he could at least work at it twice as hard. And don't forget that his hard work wasn't the dull, plodding sort—the "greasy grind" sort. Rather it was the hard work of the trained athlete who finds keen pleasure in the smooth working of mind and muscle.

How did he keep in condition? It wasn't complicated. So far as I know the colonel never practiced a system. He rode, walked, played tennis, swung an axe, rowed a boat, boxed or exercised hard enough to get his pores open and set his lungs at work every day he could. I don't believe he thought of it as *exercise*, but as

play, and the wise men are telling us today that only when exercise is play does it do us real service.

He was temperate in all things, even in work, since in spite of the tremendous amount he accomplished he never to my knowledge carried himself to either physical or mental exhaustion. He didn't smoke, although he made no merit of his abstinence, and he was a spare user of stimulant of any kind. Above all, so far as I could observe, he didn't worry—he was too busy to be a victim of that most tiring and useless of exercises.

Two pictures I have—one of a visit to Sagamore Hill in late winter. The colonel was refusing himself to newspaper reporters, but I'd made a long cold journey and meant to see him. Disappointed by the assurance of Lee, the colored butler, that the colonel was not in, I was driving back to the village when away off across the fields I saw a man at work chopping down a tree. There were many axemen at work in the chestnut groves along the road, but this particular axe wielder seemed to put more vigor into his stroke than was common. I halted my driver and walked towards the chopper. I was not mistaken; a hundred yards of walking and I had caught Mr. Roosevelt at his favorite work. And a few minutes later, leaning on his axe, he was cutting into the political situation as keenly and giving his opponents as resounding blows as had recently been the fate of the blasted chestnut.

The other picture is of Mr. Roosevelt a few months before his death. He was seated in his library composing a reply to some English statesman —Lord Lansdowne, I think it was—and, being absorbed in his work, he was lunching at the same time on crackers and milk. Apparently it had been a spoonful of food and a sentence of writing, and so on, before I was announced. He finished his lunch as we talked, and I noticed that he was unhurried about it. He wasn't chancing indigestion even when pressure of work had pushed lunch time out of the day's program.

That one time when he was tired and worn? It was when he came back from his exploration up the Amazon—the time he

discovered the River of Doubt. Fever had broken him and as he landed in the cove at Oyster Bay he leaned heavily on his stick and on the arm of a relative. I thought I saw death in his face. But next morning he seemed to have recovered with incredible swiftness. He stood on the drive beside the house looking out across his fields and over the tree tops to the blue of the Sound.

"I've traveled over most of the world," he said, "but there is no place to compare with this."

"Then why did you leave it to go adventuring in South America?" I asked.

The colonel's eyes sought the far reaches of the Sound again as he answered slowly: "I knew that I'd come to the time of life when if I was to do anything that called for great exertion or endurance I'd have to do it now—" He paused a moment and added: "In fact I waited a little too long!"

That was the only admission of defeat that I ever heard from Mr. Roosevelt. He had measured his strength against the perils of the Amazon jungle, and just that once he had perhaps overestimated his power of endurance. But there still remained to him many days in which he could still joyously

Spin the great wheel of earth about.

Questions and Activities

1. Make a list of the qualities possessed by Theodore Roosevelt that make him a hero and model for the youth of America.

2. Read other accounts of the life of Roosevelt and be able to tell the class some interesting incidents.

3. Write a paragraph which gives in your own words the meaning of the poem by Stevenson that is quoted in this selection.

CITIZENSHIP CREEDS

A CREED is a formal statement of what we believe about some particular thing or relationship. A citizenship creed is a summary of principles to which we adhere in civic relations.

In ancient Athens, fathers taught their boys the following pledge, which they publicly recited:

"We will never bring disgrace to this city by any act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our suffering comrades in the ranks.

"We will fight for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both singly and together. We will revere and obey the city's laws, and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in those above us who are prone to annul or set them at naught.

"We will strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty. Thus in all these ways we will transmit this city not only not less, but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

Every boy and girl in America knows the pledge that is given when saluting the Flag:

"I pledge allegiance to my Flag and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

In 1916-17 some patriotic citizens offered a prize open to all Americans for "the best summary of the political faith of America." Thousands of creeds were written, every state in the Union being represented by competitors. The committee of award selected William Tyler Page, Clerk of the House of Representatives, as the successful contestant. Mr. Page is a descendant of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. On every Fourth of July he has made a lifetime practice of going to his library and spending the day in careful study of the great documents of American history. It is therefore not surprising

that he was able to express in one hundred words a succinct statement of American principles and faith in what is known as The American's Creed:

"I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies."

The following American Citizenship Creed was prepared by the author of this Reader for use by the Citizenship Committee of the American Bar Association:

1. "I am living under a government—and am myself a part of such government—wherein at least an elementary knowledge of the nature and principles of this Government must be generally diffused among the great mass of its citizens. I therefore believe it to be my duty to inform myself on American history, the foundations of our government as embodied in the United States Constitution, and the application of its principles to present-day problems.

2. "Since ours is a government of, by, and for the people, it is by the very same token a government of and by public opinion. It is, therefore, my duty as a good American citizen to help form public opinion in the community in which I live, in order that all citizens may hold intelligent and just views on public questions and endeavor to have such views embodied in our laws.

3. "Since popular government is shaped in the first instance by the exercise of suffrage, it is one of my primary duties as a good American citizen to cast my ballot in all local, state, and

national elections and to urge my fellow-citizens to do the same.

4. "Since ours is 'a government of laws and not of men,' and since an orderly government can exist only through laws justly administered and impartially enforced, I declare it to be my duty as a good citizen to serve as a juror whenever summoned, and to use my influence in every proper way to the end that lawyers, judges, and jurors so conduct the administration of justice as to entitle the law and the courts to popular approval and support.

5. "I believe that we Americans have the best government that has ever been created—the freest and the most just for all the people—and that it is my duty to uphold and defend this government at all times. I believe that just as the Minute Man of the Revolution was ready upon a moment's notice to defend his rights against foreign usurpation, it is my duty as a patriotic American to be a Minute Man of the Constitution, ready at all times to defend the long-established and cherished institutions of our government against attacks by radicals either from within or without, and to do my part in preserving the blessings of liberty for which my Revolutionary forefathers fought and died.

6. "I believe that as a good citizen I must maintain continuously a civic consciousness and conscience; that my country needs my active service in times of peace no less than in war; that patriotism must be a constituent part of my religion; that no prouder boast can emanate from my lips than truly to declare, 'I am an American citizen,' and that as an American citizen the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States ought to be as actual a part of my religion as the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount."

Questions and Activities

1. Which of these creeds do you like best? Why? Memorize it.

2. What topics are mentioned in the American Citizenship Creed that are not included in the American's Creed?

3. Almost every clause in the American's Creed is a quotation from some

public document or from some noted American statesman. Make a list of all the sources you can identify. Then consult the Congressional Record, No. 102, April 13, 1918, or, if this is not available, write to the author of this Creed at Washington for "The Story of The American Creed," and compare your list of sources with the official statement.

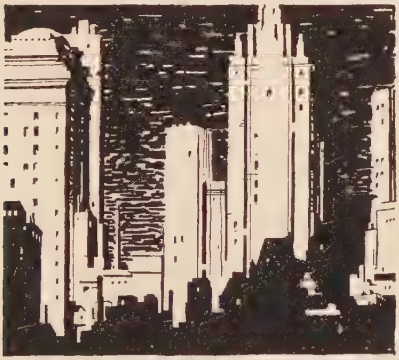
4. Write a Young Citizens' Creed for your class. Compare your composition with those prepared by other members of the class. Then work out a joint production—a composite class creed—and appoint a committee to arrange for its publication in your local newspaper.

MY CREED

HOWARD ARNOLD WALTER

I WILL be true, for there are those who trust me;
I will be pure, for there are those who care;
I will be strong, for there is much to suffer;
I will be brave, for there is much to dare;
I will be a friend to all—to foe, to friendless;
I will be giving, and forget the gift;
I will be humble, for I know my weakness;
I will look up and laugh and love and lift.

PART THREE



SELECTIONS FOR ORAL READING AND DECLAIMING

ORAL EXPRESSION

A LARGE part of our reading is done silently. We read to absorb the thought, both for information and for enjoyment. You have been mastering the art of silent reading. You have learned to see the words in groups, or phrases, to have the eyes pass from line to line quickly and accurately, getting the thought as you read. And to get the thought fully and exactly is necessary for all studies.

Very often you are called upon also to *give* the thought. This may be done by expressing it to yourself or to others. After you get the thought by silent reading, you can frequently make it clearer to yourself by stating it either in your own words or in the words of the author. Someone has said, "Who lacks the power to frame his thought, were little poorer if he lacked the thought."

Then, too, many selections that you read can hardly be fully appreciated until they are read aloud. This is especially the case with poetry or with a selection that was first given as a public address. Hamlet's "Soliloquy" or Webster's "Reply to Hayne" reveal new meanings when read aloud or spoken from memory.

There are various other reasons why you should acquire a mastery of oral expression. First of all, you make your ideas and wants known by conversation. It is of prime importance, therefore, that you learn to converse well—to listen attentively when one is speaking to you, and then, when your turn comes to talk, to state your thoughts clearly and effectively. Further, in a government such as ours, where policies are largely determined through public discussion, one is frequently called upon to carry on a one-sided conversation by talking to a group of listeners. This is called *public speaking*. Its mastery is essential for leadership. The citizen who can speak well in public on behalf of a worthy cause can usually persuade people to think and act as he desires; and one of the first steps in learning to

speak to an audience is the reproduction of another's thought "by word of mouth."

The selections that follow are intended especially for practice in oral expression. They may be read aloud to the class or spoken from memory. In either case, bear in mind that you have the responsibility of being the interpreter of the author's thought. You therefore want to express the thought to your audience just as clearly and forcibly as you possibly can.

A verse in the Old Testament states briefly and well the essentials of good oral expression: "So they read in the book of the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." Read that verse again: You must first of all utter the words *distinctly;* then express the words so you convey the *sense;* and finally, cause your hearers to *understand.* In its Scriptural sense, "to understand" means an understanding heart as well as mind. It means that you are to convey the feeling, as well as the thought, of what you are saying.

Many rules have been devised for effective oral expression—rules regarding enunciation, emphasis, inflection, rate, and other matters. But the best general rule is: Employ your best individual, natural, conversational manner. Make your speech simply clear, intelligible, direct, earnest, strong *talk.*

You have by this time doubtless learned how to study a selection to get the thought; so the only suggestions regarding the following selections are contained in occasional notes that may aid you in the interpretation and in the oral expression.

DON'T DIE ON THIRD

THE *Detroit News*—ADAPTED

This is a story of a baseball game—with a moral. As you read or speak it, try to visualize—to see—the situation when Moriarty makes his dash to the home plate. Such visualization will enable you to make your hearers also see this exciting incident in the game.

THE Tigers were playing the team from Cleveland. Moriarty was on third base.

Around the chalk-lined arena eighteen thousand persons strained themselves in tense expectancy. The score was a tie. Two men were out. The fate of the game centered in the white-bloused figure that shuttled back and forth near third. Tigers and Naps stood up at their benches, for the decisive moment had come.

Moriarty was at third.

He got there by the ordinary events of the game. There he stood, alert and active, with the fate of the game in his quick eye, his quicker brain, and his running legs.

If he failed, he failed not alone, for the team failed with him. If he won, he won not alone, but gave the men behind him their chance for home. In him centered the hopes and fears of thousands upon thousands of spectators.

Moriarty was at third.

Much as it meant to have advanced that far, nothing had been accomplished by it. Three-quarter runs are not marked up on the score boards. Third base is not the home plate, but the last little way station on the road home. The question is how to get safely away from it. One way to get off third is to wait for some fellow to bat you off; another way is to get home by your own quick brain and legs.

Moriarty was on third.

How many things converged in the few moments he stood there! He watched the signals of the Cleveland catcher; he gathered they meant a high ball. A high ball meant that the runner might duck low to the base while the catcher's hands were in the air after the ball.

There was another consideration, too; Mullin was up to bat. Moriarty knows that Mullin hits safely about once in four times at bat. Would the ball about to be thrown be one of the hits, or one of the missed? No human calculation could even guess at it.

There was only one thing to do—make home between the time the pitcher wound up his arm past all recall and the time the ball landed in the catcher's glove—make home in the second of time when Mullin's hit or miss hung in futurity. It was to be a contest in speed between a five-ounce ball delivered with all the force of a superb pitching arm and the 170-pound body of Moriarty. That was something of a contest.

All these considerations are in the mind of Moriarty. He sees the Cleveland pitcher winding up his arm, round and round it swings; he poises himself—there is yet a fraction of a second in which he can recall the pitch. Moriarty is crouched like a tiger about to spring—Now! Now!

There is a white streak across the field!

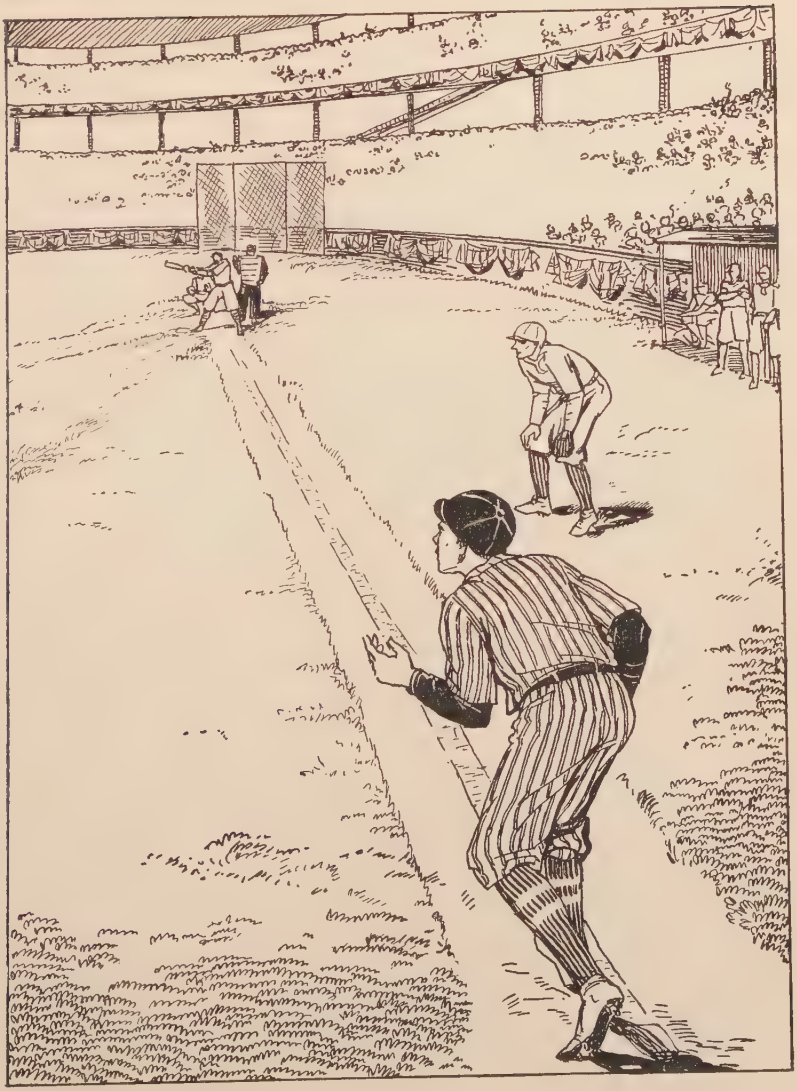
A cloud of dust at the home plate!

The umpire stands with his hands extended, palms downward.

A great cheer echoes and reëchoes across the space of the park. Again and again it bursts forth. Thirty-six thousand eyes strain toward the man who is slapping the dust from his white uniform.

Moriarty is home!

You are one of the players. Perhaps you have reached First—completed the public school. It may be by the fair promise of your own good gifts you have reached the high school and are on Second. Then, by the sacrifices of your parents, you are going to graduate—have advanced to Third.



Don't die on Third.

What are you doing to win the score that life is ready to mark up against your name? Third base has no laurels on which you can rest. What are you doing to get away from Third? Are you waiting for someone to bat you in? Suppose he misses; his miss is yours, too. Moriarty would not have scored had he waited, for Mullin didn't hit the ball, and that run was absolutely necessary to save the game. That run was gained in a fraction of time, but the difference between success and failure is very often measured in seconds. A few months more of school might enable you to score!

Don't die on Third!

Had Moriarty been out the night before, he would have played the game sleepily; but Moriarty does not go out nights. He does not smoke or drink. He goes to church on Sunday. He knows that a clean life means a clear head. He respects his body and his mind, keeps both under control of a strong will and they all in turn serve him up to the last fraction of their power.

Moriarty's run was not a foolhardy dash. It was not a toss-up with luck. It was pure headwork. Even a game means work. Work itself is a game, and has its rules, as it has its sudden openings. Bring to Third every bit of your honest strength, master every worthy art, get to work, and don't think of your luck until you hear the umpire call "Safe."

Then you will score all right.

And that is the story of success in any game. Don't get stranded at Third, whether on the diamond or in the schoolroom. In every walk of life, scoring always counts.

Don't die on Third Base!

WELCOME TO LINDBERGH

CALVIN COOLIDGE

In order to recall the setting of this speech, it would be a good plan to review the story of "A Young American at His Best." Lindbergh had just ridden with his mother through the streets of Washington amid a popular demonstration of honor and acclaim. The procession halted near the Washington Monument, when President Coolidge spoke in part as follows:

TWENTY-FIVE years ago there was born in Detroit, Michigan, a boy representing the best traditions of this country, of a stock known for its deeds of adventure and exploration. His father, moved with a desire for public service, was a member of Congress for several terms. His mother, who dowered her son with her own modesty and charm, is with us today. Engaged in the vital profession of school teaching, she has permitted neither money nor fame to interfere with her fidelity to her duties.

In due course her son became a student at one of the big state universities. His interest in aviation led him to an army aviation school, and in 1925 he was graduated as an airplane pilot. In November, 1926, he had reached the rank of captain in the Officers' Reserve Corps. Later he became connected with the United States air-mail service, where he exhibited marked ability and from which he is now on leave of absence.

On a May morning a short time ago, this wholesome, earnest, fearless, courageous product of America rose into the air from Long Island in a monoplane christened *The Spirit of St. Louis*, in honor of his home and that of his supporters. It was no haphazard adventure. After months of the most careful preparation, supported by a valiant character, driven by an unconquerable will and inspired by the imagination and the spirit of his Viking ancestors, this reserve officer set wing across the dangerous stretches of the north Atlantic. He was alone. His destination was Paris.

Thirty-three hours and thirty minutes later, in the evening of the second day, he landed at his destination on the French flying field at Le Bourget. He had traveled over 3600 miles and established a new and remarkable record. The execution of his project was a perfect exhibition of art.

This country will always remember the way he was received by the people of France, by their President and by their Government. It was the more remarkable because they were mourning the disappearance of their intrepid countrymen, who had tried to span the Atlantic on a western flight. Our messenger of peace and good will had broken down another barrier of time and space and brought two peoples into closer communion. In less than a day and a half he had crossed the ocean over which Columbus had traveled for sixty-nine days and the Pilgrim Fathers for sixty-six days, on their way to the new world. But, above all, in showering applause and honors upon this genial, modest American youth, with the naturalness, the simplicity, and the poise of true greatness, France had the opportunity to show clearly her goodwill for America.

With like acclaim and evidence of cordial friendship, our ambassador without portfolio was received by the rulers, the governments, and the people of England and Belgium. From other nations came hearty messages of admiration for him and his country. For these manifold evidences of friendship we are profoundly grateful.

The absence of self-acclaim and the refusal to become commercialized which have marked the conduct of this sincere and genuine exemplar of fine and noble virtues, have endeared him to everyone. He has returned to us unspoiled.

Particularly it has been delightful to have him refer to his airplane as somehow possessing a personality and being equally entitled to credit with himself, for we are proud that in every particular this silent partner represented American genius and industry. I am told that more than one hundred separate companies furnished materials, parts, or service in its construction.

And now, my fellow citizens, this young man has returned. He is here. He has brought his unsullied fame home. It is our great privilege to welcome him back to his native land on behalf of his own people, who have a deep affection for him and are thrilled by his splendid achievements—a Colonel of the United States Officers' Reserve Corps, an illustrious citizen of our republic, a conqueror of the air, and strengthener of the ties which bind us to our sister nations across the sea—and, as President of the United States I bestow the Distinguished Flying Cross as a symbol of appreciation for what he is and what he has done, upon Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh.

AWARD TO OUR AMBASSADOR OF GOODWILL

Norman W. Davis

On March 19, 1928, in New York City, the Woodrow Wilson Peace Medal for 1927, together with a prize of $25,000 was awarded to Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. In bestowing the award, the Chairman of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, Mr. Norman W. Davis, spoke as follows:

WELCOME and congratulations to Colonel Lindbergh! Fortune, sometimes called "luck," which is only the meeting of preparation and opportunity, has smiled on him. He has breathed deeply of that fame which Socrates called "the perfume of heroic deeds." Nothing said here can outrun the praise that has already been his. New honors can add little to the sum of those he already wears. Whence came these earlier honors we need not stop to inquire. It is only the present award with which we are at all concerned. It is made for meritorious service to the cause of peace and is given to one who is neither a victorious soldier bearing peace upon his sword point, nor a diplomat.

Through causes that we need not stop to analyze, it must be admitted that the popularity and prestige of the United States

waned rapidly when the brave days of 1918 were over. Expectations, well or ill founded, had been disappointed. Hopes that had been aroused were unrealized; our disinterestedness was doubted, our courage questioned, and such taunts as "Uncle Shylock" summed up an unconcealed dislike.

Perhaps for this situation Americans were not entirely without blame. For instance, it did not help to ingratiate us with our old comrades to have a public declaration made that we came into the war only to save our own skins. If the man could be found, it was a golden moment for someone to prove again that America was not a far-off country but a neighbor of Europe; that courage and high adventure were still dear to the American heart, and that great risks would be taken and deeds done without thought of personal reward or financial gain, and without boasting over the result.

That man appeared. He proved these things in most dramatic fashion by dropping from the air on the flying field of Le Bourget at 10 o'clock and 21 minutes post meridian on the 21st day of May, 1927.

Let me continue with the illustration. From the Rio Grande to the Amazon lies a group of nations fringing the Caribbean Sea. They are the closest of our southern neighbors. There is no American alive, certainly there is no sane American, who does not covet their regard and wish them all good fortune in return. The history of our intercourse with them holds many a page showing the interchange of helpful services, yet it is full of difficulties as well, and irritation and misunderstanding have survived a growing interdependence. Let us be fair enough to admit that all the blame for this state of things has not been entirely on one side.

As long as the world is what it is, it would be a council of perfection to hope that doubt of our methods or distrust of our power will ever entirely vanish. Candor will help, fair dealing will help, patience will help, scrupulous and exact justice will help, tact will help, and a handsome gesture of courtesy and re-

spect may help as much as any of them. Indeed, it may be worth a carload of protocols or a cargo of diplomatic notes.

Now of such gestures the finest of modern times was that of a certain American aviator who but yesterday carried the American flag across sea and land, mountain and plain, jungle and desert to the city of the Montezumas and around the full circuit of the Spanish Main. Unlike the buccaneers of old, he sacked no cities and took no slaves, but he captured instead the hearts of waiting thousands. He sank no ships and he plundered no galleons, but he came home freighted with a cargo of admiration for his own achievements and increased friendship for the country from which he sailed. It was proof of what an individual may do to promote the cause of international peace.

Colonel Lindbergh, not all your fellow-countrymen can follow you over the unchartered waters of the Atlantic, the jungle or the tropics or the serried peaks of the Andes. It will be given to few of them to carry the Stars and Stripes in friendly greeting from country to country and from continent to continent. They cannot hope to duplicate the manner in which you have spread America's name before the world and carried her message of friendship to her sister nations. They admire the thing which you have done; they are proud of the honors you have won for yourself and for your country, and they are prouder still of the modesty and dignity with which you wear them.

For all these things and by reason of them, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation asks your acceptance of its award. It is given for your contribution as an individual to the cause of international peace. Those who make it cherish the profound hope that your countrymen, one and all, though they may not rival, may be stirred to emulate you; that they may see and believe that peace, the promotion of peace, the preservation of a lasting peace is as much a personal as a national responsibility, and that each and every man, within the range of his own powers and opportunity, can help to that great end.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

WOODROW WILSON

In the old Convention Hall at Philadelphia, May 10, 1915, President Wilson delivered the following address to an audience that included a large number of citizens who had just taken the oath of allegiance to the United States.

MR. MAYOR and Fellow-Citizens: It warms my heart that you should give me such a reception; but it is not of myself that I wish to think tonight, but of those who have just become citizens of the United States.

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be to God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange

oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech, there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them. I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin—these things are very sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts—but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go. You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellow-men. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite. It was but an historical acci-

dent no doubt that this great country was called the "United States"; yet I am very thankful that it has that word "United" in its title, and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest in this great Union is striking at its very heart.

WOODROW WILSON

It is a very interesting circumstance to me, in thinking of those of you who have just sworn allegiance to this great Government, that you were drawn across the ocean by some beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life. No doubt you have been disappointed in some of us. Some of us are very disappointing. No doubt you have found that justice

in the United States goes only with a pure heart and a right purpose as it does everywhere else in the world. No doubt what you found here did not seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the ideal which you had conceived beforehand. But remember this: If we had grown at all poor in the ideal, you brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief. That is the reason that I, for one, make you welcome. If I have in any degree forgotten what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me. I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are.

You have come into this great nation voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, and all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. We cannot exempt you from the strife and the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere; we cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry. We can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

HOW TO MAKE BETTER CITIZENS

FRANK D. BOYNTON

This is an extract from the President's address delivered at the annual meeting of the Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, at Cleveland, Ohio, February 25, 1929. Since this extract contains only the opening and closing parts of the address, it is largely an appeal, the facts on which the appeal is based being for the most part omitted. The oral delivery of this selection should therefore be characterized by the sustained force that results from strong conviction and feeling.

"HOW can the public schools better serve Democracy and increasingly produce a higher type of citizen?" In this one terse question we are calling public attention to the ultimate goal of American education, stating a major objective of the church, and expressing the hope of good citizens everywhere.

Recognition of the value of the work of our public schools by great leaders is not lacking. President Herbert Hoover says: "The progress of the race is upon the marching feet of healthy, instructed children," and that "if we were to suppress our educational system for a single generation the equipment would decay, the most of our people would die of starvation, and intellectually and spiritually we would slip back four thousand years in human progress." About a year ago, Roger Babson set down to the credit of the American public-school system the following credit results:

> During the past twenty years the public schools have practically eliminated illiteracy and materially raised the general level of intelligence.
>
> They have supervised the health and safety of the nation's children to a much greater extent than ever before and to their great good.
>
> They have absorbed the great flood of immigration which inundated the country, and kept it American.
>
> Through courses in vocational education, they have prepared young

people for specific trades and have increased the earning power of those thus educated.

Our great advance in material prosperity can be ascribed in part to the higher educational levels and thinking to which the work of the public schools has raised the masses.

Quotations of like import could be multiplied indefinitely. But the important thing to know is not that the service of the school is valuable, but how valuable it is. What measure of value can be applied to an institution that has practically banished illiteracy; looked after the physical well-being of 28,000,000 children; raised the level of living and thinking; increased the earning and purchasing power of the worker, thereby creating and building up a home market which consumes 90 per cent of the product of farm and factory; and despite the flood of immigration kept the nation American? He is a brave man, or a fool, who ventures to place a money value upon such a service.

Upon the principle of the equal right of every individual to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" this government was founded. This conception of the right of the individual to equality of opportunity, which does not mean the same opportunity necessarily, is unique and fundamental to our whole scheme of national life. To preserve this principle inviolate and to train each individual for such efficiency—civic, economic, moral, political—as his capacity makes possible, is the primary function of education in this great democracy we call America.

We live in proportion to our ability to respond to our environment. Education multiplies the points of contact with environment; trains man to interpret, to modify and, in a measure, to control environment; and leads him upward from savagery toward his Maker. Through education we have discarded the strong-back method of advancing civilization—the method which reared the pyramids and built the ancient temples. Through education we have lifted the burden from the sweating backs of men. Through education we have raised the standard of living;

enlarged the circle of those who can eat white bread till it circumnavigates the globe; and have made the bathtub, once a luxury in the homes of the rich, a health necessity in the homes of the poor. Through education we erect our sky-scrapers, span rivers, bore through mountains, annihilate distance, reduce the ravages of disease, and distribute more equally the blessings of prosperity. Through education we are bringing nearer a realization of the brotherhood of man and are welding the nations of earth into one great family. Through education our lamp of reason is lighted and set in the candlestick to give light to all the house. No longer is it hidden under the bushel of superstition and fear.

Each year the march of the nation's war heroes toward the setting sun increases apace. I wonder sometimes if on their westward march they pause for a moment to catch a glimpse of the New Grand Army of the Republic, an army whose line, marching in "fours" past a given point, would be paralleled by the children of the front ranks before the rear "fours" could pass the reviewing stand; an army marching against the citadels of ignorance and superstition and race hatred, upholding the traditions and defending the ideals of the republic they love, an army gathering every school day from hill and dale, from city and village, from the farm, the workshop, the mine, from industry and commerce, with the blood of the Occident and Orient coursing through its veins, speaking one language, loving one flag, destined in each of the forty-eight states of this great American league of nations to become citizens, not subjects; masters, not servants; an army trained to useful and intelligent citizenship and dedicated to the task of making a better today than yesterday, and a tomorrow better than either; an army whose proud accomplishments in the past and whose promise for the future lend glory to the widsom and leadership of the nation's founders; and an army whose high destiny lays upon every American citizen a sacred obligation to support to the limit of his power this stronghold of our democracy, this bulwark of our free institutions—the American public school.

"I AM AN AMERICAN"

ELIAS LIEBERMAN

The following selection is adapted from a poem appearing in *Everybody's Magazine*, July, 1916. The author was a native of Russia. He came to the United States when eight years old. So the "foreign-born boy" referred to below may have been the author himself.

WHY should any special appeal be needed for the exercise of American patriotism? Why should not Americans be patriotic? If the Englishman thrills at thought of the Empire "on which the sun never sets," and the Irishman knows no country so dear as the Emerald Isle, and the German believes that his Fatherland is of more value than life itself, and the Frenchman loves the soil where grows the *fleur-de-lis*, and the Italian enthuses over Sunny Italy, and the Chinaman pities everybody born outside the Flowery Kingdom, and the Japanese give their sole devotion to the Land of the Rising Sun—shall not we, in this land of glorious liberty, have some thought and love of our country?

At a meeting of school children in Madison Square Garden, New York City, to celebrate the Fourth of July, one boy, a descendant of native Americans, spoke as follows:

"I am an American. My father belongs to the Sons of the Revolution; my mother, to the Colonial Dames. One of my ancestors pitched tea overboard in Boston Harbor; another stood his ground with Warren at Bunker Hill; another hungered with Washington at Valley Forge. My forefathers were American in the making; they spoke in her council halls; they died on her battle-fields; they commanded her ships; they cleared her forests. Dawns reddened and paled. Stanch hearts of mine beat fast at each new star in the nation's flag. Keen eyes of mine foresaw her greater glory: the sweep of her seas, the plenty of her plains,

the man-hives in her billion-wired cities. Every drop of blood in me holds a heritage of patriotism. I am proud of my past. I am an American."

Then a foreign-born boy arose and said:

"I am an American. My father was an atom of dust, my mother was a straw in the wind, to His Serene Majesty. One of my ancestors died in the mines of Siberia; another was crippled for life by twenty blows of the *knout;* another was killed defending his home during the massacres. The history of my ancestors is a trail of blood to the palace-gate of the Great White Czar. . . . But then the dream came—the dream of America. In the light of the Liberty torch the atom of dust became a man and the straw in the wind became a woman for the first time. 'See,' said my father, pointing to the flag that fluttered near, 'that flag of stars and stripes is yours; it is the emblem of the promised land. It means, my son, the hope of humanity. Live for it—die for it!' And under the open sky of my new country I swore to do so; and every drop of blood in me will keep that vow. I am proud of my future. I am an American."

THE TORCH OF LIBERTY

THOMAS MOORE

I SAW it all in Fancy's glass—
Herself the fair, the wild magician
Who bade this splendid day-dream pass,
And named this gilded apparition.
'Twas like a torch-race—such as they
Of Greece performed in ages gone,
When the fleet youths in long array
Passed the bright torch triumphant on
To catch the coming flame in turn.

I saw the expectant nation
  And the clear, though struggling, glory burn.
And oh, their joy as it came near!
  'Twas in itself a joy to see;
While Fancy whispered in my ear,
  "That torch they pass is Liberty!"

And each, as she received the flame,
  Lighted her altar with its ray;
Then, smiling to the next who came,
  Speeded it on its sparkling way.
From Albion first, whose ancient shrine
  Was furnished with the flame already,
Columbia caught the boon divine,
  And lit a flame, like Albion's, steady.

Shine, shine forever, glorious flame,
  Divinest gift of gods to men!
From Greece thy earliest splendor came,
  To Greece thy ray returns again.
Take, Freedom, take thy radiant round;
  When dimmed, revive; when lost, return;
Till not a shrine through earth be found
  On which thy glories shall not burn!

AMERICA FIRST

G. Ashton Oldham

We frequently see or hear the slogan, "America First." It seems to have different meanings to different people. It is often used in a narrow and selfish sense. What does it mean to you? Here is what it means to Bishop Oldham, as expressed in a sermon delivered in Washington, D. C., September 7, 1924.

"AMERICA First!" not merely in matters material, but in things of the spirit.

"America First!" not merely in science, inventions, motors, and skyscrapers, but also in ideals, principles, character.

"America First!" not merely in the calm assertion of rights, but in the glad assumption of duties.

"America First!" not flaunting her strength as a giant, but bending in helpfulness over a sick and wounded world like a Good Samaritan.

"America First!" not in splendid isolation, but in courageous coöperation.

"America First!" not in pride, arrogance, and disdain of other races and peoples, but in sympathy, love, and understanding.

"America First!" not in treading again the old, worn, bloody pathway which ends inevitably in chaos and disaster, but in blazing a new trail, along which, please God, other nations will follow, into the new Jerusalem where wars shall be no more. Some day some nation must take that path—unless we are to lapse once again into utter barbarism—and that honor I covet for my beloved America.

And so, in that spirit and with these hopes, I say with all my heart and soul, "AMERICA FIRST."

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

HERBERT HOOVER

The occasion of the following address arose from the old-time custom of formal notification to, and acceptance by, a candidate for President of the United States. On August 11, 1928, seventy thousand people assembled at the stadium of Stanford University to participate in this ceremony, and millions of people throughout the country listened in on the radio. Four brass bands, including the student bands of Stanford and the municipal bands of San Francisco, had a part in the preliminary program. The Stanford cheer leaders were early in position to direct the cheering for their illustrious alumnus, Herbert Hoover. In accepting his party's nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Hoover spoke in part as follows:

THE greatness of any nation—its freedom from poverty and crime, its aspirations and ideals—are the direct quotient of the care of its children. Racial progress marches upon the feet of healthy and instructed children. There should be no child in America that is not born and does not live under sound conditions of health; that does not have full opportunity of education from the beginning to the end of our institutions; that is not free from injurious labor; that does not have every stimulation to accomplish the fullest of its capacities. Nothing in development of child life will ever replace the solicitude of parents and the surroundings of home, but in many aspects both parents and children are dependent upon the vigilance of government, national, state, and local.

I especially value the contribution that the youth of the country can make to the success of our American experiment in democracy. Theirs is the precious gift of enthusiasm, without which no great deeds can be accomplished. A government that does not constantly seek to live up to the ideals of its young men and women falls short of what the American people have a right to expect and demand from it. To interpret the spirit of youth into the spirit

of our government; to bring the warmth of their enthusiasm and the flame of their idealism into the affairs of the nation—is to make of American government a positive and living force, a factor for greatness and nobility in the life of the nation.

There is one of the ideals of America upon which I wish at this time to lay especial emphasis. For we should constantly test our economic, social, and governmental system by certain ideals which must control them. The founders of our republic propounded the revolutionary doctrine that all men are created equal and all should have equality before the law. This was the emancipation of the individual. And since these beginnings, slowly, surely, and almost imperceptibly, this nation has added a third ideal almost unique to America—the ideal of equal opportunity. This is the safeguard of the individual. The simple life of early days in our republic found but few limitations upon equal opportunity. By the crowding of our people and the intensity and complexity of their activities it takes today a new importance.

Equality of opportunity is the right of every American—rich or poor, foreign or native-born, irrespective of faith or color. It is the right of every individual to attain that position in life to which his ability and character entitle him. By its maintenance we will alone hold open the door of opportunity to every new generation, to every boy and girl. It tolerates no privileged classes or castes or groups who would hold opportunity as their prerogative. Only from confidence that this right will be upheld can flow that unbounded courage and hope which stimulate each individual man and woman to endeavor and to achievement. The sum of their achievement is the gigantic harvest of national progress.

The ideal of individualism based upon equal opportunity to every citizen is the negation of socialism. It is the negation of anarchy. It is the negation of despotism. It is as if we set a race. We, through free and universal education, provide the training of the runners; we give to them an equal start; we provide in the gov-

ernment the umpire of fairness in the race. The winner is he who shows the most conscientious training, the greatest ability, and the greatest character. Socialism bids all to end the race equally. It holds back the speedy to the pace of the slowest. Anarchy would provide neither training nor umpire. Despotism picks those who should run and those who should win.

Conservative, progressive, and liberal thought and action have their only real test in whether they contribute to equal opportunity, whether they hold open the door of opportunity. If they do not they are false in their premise no matter what their name may be.

It was Abraham Lincoln who firmly enunciated this ideal as the equal chance. Equality of opportunity is a fundamental principle of our union. With it we must test all our policies. The success or failure of this principle is the test of our government.

Our purpose is to build in this nation a human society, not an economic system. We wish to increase the efficiency and productivity of our country but its final purpose is happier homes. We shall succeed through the faith, the loyalty, the self-sacrifice, the devotion to eternal ideals which live today in every American.

The Presidency is more than an administrative office. It must be the symbol of American ideals. The high and the lowly must be seen with the same eyes, met in the same spirit. It must be the instrument by which national conscience is livened and it must, under the guidance of the Almighty, interpret and follow that conscience.

THE HOME AND THE REPUBLIC

HENRY W. GRADY

I WENT to Washington the other day, and as I stood on Capitol Hill my heart beat quick as I looked at the towering marble of my country's Capitol, and the mist gathered in my eyes as I thought of its tremendous significance—the Army, and the Treasury, and the Courts, and Congress, and the President, and all that was gathered there. And I felt that the sun in all its course could not look down upon a better sight than that majestic home of the Republic that had taught the world its best lessons in liberty.

Two days afterwards I went to visit a friend in the country—a modest man, with a quiet country home. It was just a simple, unpretentious house, set about with great big trees, encircled in meadow and fields rich with the promise of harvest. The fragrance of pink and hollyhock in the front yard was mingled with the aroma of the orchard and of the garden, and resonant with the cluck of poultry and the hum of bees. Inside was quiet, cleanliness, thrift, and comfort. Outside there stood my friend—master of his land and master of himself. There was his old father, an aged, trembling man, happy in the heart and home of his son. And as they started to their home the hands of the old man went down on the young man's shoulders, laying there the unspeakable blessing of an honored and grateful father, and ennobling it with the knighthood of the Fifth Commandment.

And I saw the night come down on that home, falling gently as from the wings of an unseen dove, and the old man, while a startled bird called from the forest, and the trees shrilled with the cricket's cry, and the stars were swarming in the sky, got the family around him, and taking the old Bible from the table, called them to their knees, while he closed the record of that simple day by

Henry W. Grady

calling down God's blessing on that family and that home.

And while I gazed, the vision of the marble Capitol faded. Forgotten were its treasures and its majesty, and I said, "O, surely, here in the hearts of the people at last are lodged the strength and responsibilities of this government, the hope and promise of this Republic. Here is its majesty and its strength. Here the beginning of its power and the end of its responsibility."

The man who kindles the fire on the hearth-stone of an honest and righteous home burns the best incense to liberty. He does not love mankind less who loves his neighbor most. Exalt the citizen. As the state is the unit of government, he is the unit of the state. Teach him that his home is his castle, and his sovereignty rests beneath his hat. Make him self-respecting, self-reliant, and responsible. Let him lean on the State for nothing that his own arm can do, and on the government for nothing that his State can do. Let him cultivate independence to the point of sacrifice, and learn that humble things with unbartered liberty are better than splendors bought with its price.

A MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY

WHAT did Theodore Roosevelt mean when he said that there must be "no divided allegiance" in America? He certainly did not mean that one born in some other country should have no love for the land of his birth. He meant that when one comes to live in America, and takes advantage of the opportunities offered here, he owes America his first and sole allegiance. If he likes the conditions of life and the form of government of some other country better than he likes ours, plainly, he belongs to that country and should go there at once. All that America asks is that he shall choose some country, and then live in the country of his choice, with "no divided allegiance."

Beginning with the home, and extending to the community,

the state, the nation, the current of our lives must flow from the well-spring of *loyalty*. If a man says, "I am a citizen of the world," the reply is: "Very well, but just as you must first be a good, loyal member of your own household before you can become a good member of your community, even so must you first be a good loyal citizen of some one nation before you can be a good citizen of the world; you must first of all be a good nationalist before you can qualify as a good internationalist."

The man who is an internationalist in the sense of disclaiming allegiance to any one country, or is a resident of one country and a supporter of another, is in reality a man without a country. And can you imagine a more pitiable plight than a man in this position? The words of Philip Nolan, "the man without a country" in Edward Everett Hale's well-known story, should be burned into the mind and consciousness of every boy and girl in the United States:

"Youngster," Nolan said, "if you are ever tempted to say a word or do a thing that shall put a bar between you and your family, your home, and your country, pray God in His mercy to take you that instant home to His own heaven. Stick by your family, boy; forget that you have a self, while you do everything for them. Think of your home, boy; write and send and talk about it. Let it be nearer and nearer to your thought the farther you have to travel from it. And for your country, boy, and for her flag, never dream a dream but of serving her as she bids you, though the service carry you through a thousand hells. No matter what happens to you, no matter who flatters you or who abuses you, never let a night pass but you pray God to bless that flag. Remember, boy, that behind all these men that you have to do with, behind officers, and government, and people even, there is the Country Herself, your Country, and that you belong to Her as you belong to your own mother. Stand by Her, boy, as you would stand by your mother."

AT THE GRAVE OF AN UNKNOWN SOLDIER

Warren G. Harding

The following address was delivered on the eve of the Disarmament Conference held at Washington. The body of an "unknown soldier" had been brought from France, and burial services were held at Arlington Cemetery on the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Armistice, November 18, 1922. It was an occasion unprecedented in our history, and President Harding's eloquent interpretation of the event will take its place as a classic in American oratory.

WE ARE met today to pay the impersonal tribute. The name of him whose body lies before us took flight with his imperishable soul. We know not whence he came, but only that his death marks him with the everlasting glory of an American dying for his country.

He might have come from any one of millions of American homes. Some mother gave him in her love and tenderness of her most cherished hopes. Hundreds of mothers are wondering today, finding a touch of solace in the possibility that the nation bows in grief over the body of one she bore to live, and die, if need be, for the Republic. If we give rein to fancy, a score of sympathetic chords are touched, for in this body there once glowed the soul of an American with the aspirations and ambitions of a citizen who cherished life and its opportunities. He may have been a native or an adopted son; that matters little, because they glorified the same loyalty, they sacrificed alike.

We do not know the eminence of his birth, but we do know the glory of his death. He died for his country, and greater devotion hath no man than this. He died unquestioning, uncomplaining, with faith in his heart and hope on his lips that his country should triumph and his civilization survive. As a typical soldier of this representative democracy he fought and died, believing in the indisputable justice of his country's cause. Conscious of the world's

The Grave of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington Cemetery

upheavel, appraising the magnitude of a war the like of which had never horrified humanity before, perhaps he believed his to be a service destined to change the tide of human affairs.

This American soldier went forth to battle with no hatred for any people in the world, but hating war and hating the purpose of any war of conquest. He cherished our national rights and abhorred the threat of armed domination, and in the maelstrom of destruction and suffering and death he fired his shot for liberation of the captive conscience of the world; in advancing toward his object was somewhere a thought of a world awakened; and we are here to testify undying gratitude and reverence for that thought of a wider freedom.

On such a question as this, amid such a scene, our thoughts alternate between defenders living and defenders dead. A grateful Republic will be worthy of them both. Our part is to atone for the losses of heroic dead by making a better Republic for the living.

Ours are lofty resolutions today, as with tribute to the dead we consecrate ourselves to a better order of living. With all my heart I wish we might say to the defenders who survive, to mothers who sorrow, to widows and children who mourn, that no such sacrifice shall be asked again.

Standing today on hallowed ground, conscious that all America has halted to share in the tribute of heart and mind and soul to this fellow American, and knowing that the world is noting this expression of the Republic's mindfulness, it is fitting to say that this sacrifice and that of the millions dead shall not be in vain. There must be, there shall be, a commanding voice of a conscious civilization against armed warfare.

As we return this poor clay to its mother soil, garlanded by love and covered with the decorations that only nations can bestow, I sense the prayers of our people, of all peoples, that this Armistice Day shall mark the dawn of a new and lasting era of peace on earth, good will among men.

"UNKNOWN"

Bruce Barton

This selection is in the nature of a sequel to the one preceding. It is a concrete, telling argument against war. In reading or speaking it to listeners, try to visualize the successive scenes as they are presented. Take plenty of time to pause as each "unknown" is introduced, and then voice the words they uttered so as to bring out both the thought and the feeling of each speaker.

FROM the grave of the Unknown Soldier the crowds melted away. The great men of the nations who had stood there bareheaded stepped into their cars and were whirled back to town. The music of the bands grew faint and finally ceased. All afternoon little parties of curious, reverent folk came and stopped, and went on again. Finally only the guard remained. The day ended. Night came silently and threw over the grave the healing mantle of darkness. Then a strange thing happened.

Three dim figures from nowhere gathered and stood uncovered beside the tomb. No word of greeting passed between them; they seemed to know each other well. Slowly they stooped and read the freshly carved inscription. Then the oldest spoke.

"Things are improving a bit for us Unknowns," he said. "I fought with Leonidas at Thermopylæ. We fell side by side, we and the other two hundred and ninety-nine. Our bones were mingled with the dust and rocks. No one marked our resting place. Our names are forgotten: *but we held the pass.*

"My mother wept when I failed to return," he continued. "Night after night she waited at the window until it was foolish to hope any longer. Then she, too, wanted to die. But the neighbors came in and cheered her. 'You have given a son to save your country,' they cried. 'The Persians are driven back and Greece is freed. He died but he left us a better world.'

"So my mother took courage and held her head high. It was fine to have given a son to make the world a better world . . ."

The Unknown paused; his voice grew dull. "The Romans swept over the Greece that I died for," he said. "The barbarians swept over Rome. I sometimes wonder if it was worth while to die at twenty-eight—to sleep at Thermopylæ, unknown."

"I fought with Charles Martel at Tours," the second soldier said. "We turned back the Arab hosts; we saved Europe from Mohammedanism; we kept it a Christian continent.

" 'It is splendid to die for your Faith,' they said to my mother when she wept. 'Splendid to give a son as a sacrifice on the altar of peace and goodwill.' That was twelve hundred years ago," the second soldier said. "And where is the peace that we died for? Where is the Faith? The goodwill?"

The third Unknown had stood with Wellington at Waterloo. It was a high enthusiasm that had carried him there—a vision of a world freed from tyranny and wrong. They fought to do away with kings that day; and he fell and was buried in a trench, under a rude cross marked "Unknown."

"We thought it was to be the world's last great battle," he said. "There would be no more wars, no more youthful lives snuffed out, no more mothers waiting and weeping at home."

"But a century went by, and there came a war beside which ours seemed a little thing. Our friend over whom the bands played today was one of millions who gave their lives. They have heaped honors on him such as we never had. Do the honors mean that the hearts of men have changed, I wonder? They broke faith with us; will they keep faith with him?"

The three dim figures disappeared. The moon stood guard above the silent grave. In the East the first rays of the morning crept into the sky. They reached out vaguely, hesitatingly, touching the city of Washington where men were to gather that day to speak of peace. Touching the inscription which a nation had cut in the stone above the body of its Unknown Soldier.

A solemn inscription; a nation's promise that he who lies there dead shall not have died in vain.

The world has made that promise before; all of its Unknown Dead have died in that faith. And the promise has died with them.

Will it die again? That is the question for you and me to ask ourselves as we stand with our backs to Armistice Day and our faces turned toward Christmas.

We told that boy when he marched away that he was fighting a war to end all wars. He fell, believing; and we have buried him and carved an inscription over his tomb. But the real inscription will be written not on any stone; it will stand on the pages of the dictionaries of the future. Only by writing it thus can the world keep faith with the long, sad procession of its unknown heroes whom it has lied to and cheated and fooled.

This will be the inscription: "War, an armed contest between nations. Now obsolete—unknown."

THE AMERICANISM OF THE CAPE COD FISHERMEN

Joseph C. Lincoln

This selection is adapted from a speech given at the annual dinner of the New England Society of the City of New York, December 22, 1919. Mr. Lincoln has written many delightful stories about the Cape Cod fishermen, so he naturally uses them, as he states, to illustrate his line of thought. In reading aloud or speaking this selection, try to tell it to your audience, and especially the incident relating to the Battle of Bunker Hill, in a perfectly natural, conversational manner.

EVERY New Englander can have but the highest and most profound respect for that brave band of wayfarers who came to Plymouth in the old days. In the first place, everybody must respect them for believing in things. They

believed in God, and they believed in the right, and they believed in honesty and they believed in freedom—and freedom did not in their case mean lawlessness or license. They believed, too, in work. That sounds unusual today, but they did. They believed not only in the honor of a day's work, and that an honest day's pay should go for a day's work, but they believed that an honest day's work should be delivered for a day's pay.

They did not talk largely of community rights, perhaps, but they certainly looked out for the rights of their community. Do you remember that first winter when all well enough to do it, from the highest to the lowest, went out and dug clams for the sustenance of the starving? If that had happened today, the Amalgamated Order of Clam Diggers would have seized the opportunity to strike.

When I think of the Pilgrim fathers, naturally I think of the old sea captains of Cape Cod. Those men had many of the Pilgrim characteristics. They were honest, they were hard workers, they were fearless, and they were brave.

Another thing for which they stood undeviatingly was their love of country, their patriotism. You see, in the old days, the days without cables or wireless, when a ship put out from a port with an American flag flying, that ship was a little section of the United States, and the men in charge of her assumed that responsibility; they felt they carried that little bit of the United States to the rest of the world. I do not mean that they went about with a chip on their shoulders. To use a better expression, I think they felt more like pitying anyone unfortunate enough not to be a citizen of the United States.

I know one captain who told me a story which illustrates this. He said that once his ship was at the entrance of the Suez Canal, and he decked the ship with flags. The English Consul there came aboard and inquired, "Captain, why have you got your ship decorated?" And the captain replied, "This is the seventeenth of June." "What does that mean?" the Consul asked.

"That's the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill," was the reply. Then the Consul remarked, "The Battle of Bunker Hill? Do you know, I never could understand why you Americans should want to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill. Why, the British were on that hill when the battle was over." Then the captain told me, with a merry twinkle in his eyes, "I leaned forward and tapped that fellow on the shoulder and I said, 'Son, who's on that hill *now?*' "

You know, we all have a pet wish. I think my pet wish sometimes is just this: I wish I could set back the clock of time for a little and carry with it persons and events. I should like to set back the clock to some time in the fifties, and then I should like to take a dozen of our friends who care nothing for America, and I should like to add to them some of our back-parlor Bolshevists—I should like to take such a group of malcontents who have no love for our country and ship them aboard an old-time Cape Cod vessel with a Cape Cod captain and Cape Cod mates, and send the outfit on a long voyage. Believe me, my friends, when the port was reached those passengers would either be mighty good Americans or mighty feeble Bolshevists.

So here's to those old ancestors of ours. They believed in and they were grateful to this land, the land that afforded them a refuge and freedom. It seems to me that upon us now rests the responsibility of carrying on this democracy which they founded as they would have wished us to do, and along the lines they laid down. Well, I have faith in America, and I believe America is going to do it.

THE LONE STAR STATE—ONE AND INSEPARABLE

JOSEPH W. BAILEY

This is an extract from a speech delivered in the United States Senate in January, 1906. You will more readily appreciate Senator Bailey's line of thought if you remember that Texas, under the leadership of General Sam Houston, had become an independent republic before admission to the Union.

FROM the floor of this Senate we have heard many and varied comments upon the magnitude of Texas. Some Senators have expressed a friendly solicitude that we would some day avail ourselves of the privilege accorded us by the resolutions under which we entered the Union, and divide our state into five states.

Mr. President, if Texas had contained a population in 1845 sufficient to have justified her admission as five states, it is my opinion that she would have been so admitted. I will even go farther than that; I will say that if Texas were now five states, there would not be five men in either state who would seriously propose the consolidation into one. But, sir, Texas is not divided now, and under the providence of God, she will not be divided until the end of time!

Her position is exceptional, and excites in the minds of all her citizens a just and natural pride. She is now the greatest of all the states in area, and certain to become the greatest of all in population, wealth, and influence. With such a primacy assured her, she could not be expected to surrender it, even to obtain increased representation in this body.

But, Mr. President, while from her proud eminence today Texas looks upon a future as bright with promise as ever beckoned a people to follow where fate and fortune lead, it is not so much the promise of the future as it is the memory of a glorious past

which appeals to her against division. She could partition her fertile valleys and broad prairies, she could apportion her thriving towns and growing cities, she could distribute her splendid population and wonderful resources, but she could not divide the fadeless glory of those days that are past and gone. To which of her daughters, sir, could she assign, without irreparable injustice to all the others, the priceless inheritance of the Alamo, Goliad, and San Jacinto? To which could she bequeath the name of Houston, Austin, Fannin, Bowie, and Crockett? Sir, the fame of these men, and their less illustrious but not less worthy comrades, cannot be severed.

The world has never seen a sublimer courage or a more unselfish patriotism than that which illuminates almost every page in the early history of Texas. Students may know more about other battle-fields, but none is consecrated with the blood of braver men than those who fell at Goliad. Historians may not record it as one of the decisive battles of the world, but the victory of the Texans at San Jacinto is destined to exert a greater influence upon the happiness of the human race than all the conflicts that established or subverted the petty kingdoms of the ancient world. Poets have not yet immortalized it with their enduring verse, but the Alamo is more resplendent with her heroic sacrifice than was Thermopylæ, because while "Thermopylæ had her messenger of defeat, the Alamo had none."

Mr. President, if I may be permitted to borrow Webster's well-known apostrophe to Liberty and Union, I would say of Texas: She is one and inseparable, now and forever!

THE ALAMO

Louise W. Morris

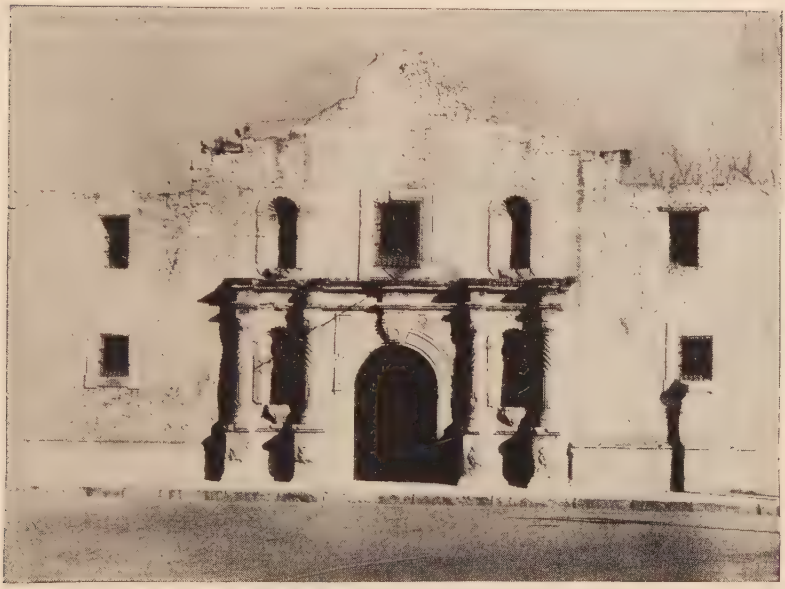
Facing the old Alamo Plaza at San Antonio, Texas, in the midst of changes that the intervening years have wrought, stands the original Alamo practically intact. Here it was that a band of 183 Texans died to the last man while defending the fort against the charge of a Mexican army under command of General Santa Anna. The poem below voices the spirit of this Thermopylæ of Texas, the Bunker Hill of the Southwest.

The author of this poem was for many years a teacher in the schools of Shreveport, Louisiana, and in later life a member of the Extension staff at the University of Texas. The poem is adapted for chorus singing to the air of "Maryland, My Maryland." In reading it aloud, special care should be exercised in order to avoid a "sing-song" style.

MEMORIAL of our Patriot Dead,
Alamo, our Alamo.
For Freedom's life their blood was shed,
Alamo, our Alamo.
Brave men were they bold Travis led,
Oh, dark the day their souls were sped
And thy gray stones were turned to red,
Alamo, our Alamo.

There was no time to watch or pray,
Alamo, our Alamo.
The rush of foes was swift that day,
Alamo, our Alamo.
Oh, strong of heart and head were they
Who faced the rush and fought at bay,
Better for them to die that way,
Alamo, our Alamo.

A cry from stricken hearts appealed,
Alamo, our Alamo.



The Alamo, San Antonio, Texas

Then Vict'ry came on wings and healed,
Alamo, our Alamo.
Remember San Jacinto's Field,
Where ruthless hordes were forced to yield,
And Texas won her Star and Shield,
Alamo, our Alamo.

That Star is watching over all,
Alamo, our Alamo.
And Minute Men will answer call,
Alamo, our Alamo.
No foe shall hold our land in thrall,
No foe shall tread thy ghostly Hall,
Nor take one stone from thy old wall,
Alamo, our Alamo.

THE UNDERTOW IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

W. P. Dearing

Upon reading this selection through silently, you will see how clearly the thought is outlined. Following the introduction, five things are mentioned in way of an "undertow." So in giving the thought to others you will naturally emphasize these five points.

WHEN you wade out waist deep in the refreshing waters of certain bathing beaches, you become conscious of two forces. As a wave rolls in you feel the pleasant uplift around your waist and shoulders, but about your feet you feel another force literally eating the sand from under you and seeking to drag you down and out to sea. That force is the deadly undertow.

Upon the educational bathing beach the young of our race are sporting and playing. The waters are shallow, but nevertheless they are a real part of the great ocean of life. That great, changeful ocean sends its billows rolling in and we, on the educational bathing beach, bob to their rolling.

If you ask why any subject has found a place in our curriculum, its presence there can be justified only by the fact that it is an uplift wave that has come in from some big, worthwhile interest out in the ocean of life. If you object to the occasional addition of a subject to our school curriculum, you are simply objecting to making the school true to life, for life is a growing, expanding thing and new, important human interests will continue to arise.

While these inspiring waves of uplift come billowing into the educational beach and make the work of the educator a thing of joy, it is no less true that we also struggle with the deadly undertow, the counter currents, the backwash from certain habits and ideals, the forces that destroy young life and make

it difficult to train a type of citizenship that can safely be entrusted with the sacred institutions of our civilization. What are some of the backwash forces of the deadly undertow of our day?

The first is the force of waste. We are a nation of spenders. Nature has been so lavish with America that it is comparatively easy to provide one's actual needs and we devote most of our energy to getting and spending a surplus. With such a tide as this running high in human life do you not suppose it is felt in the educational world? It certainly is and one of the curses that fall upon the children from the homes of the well-to-do is the fact that they are given too much spending money. Just recently the president of the University of Missouri sent a letter to all the parents of both graduate and undergraduate students in that institution asking that all monthly allowances of spending money be cut to a stated amount and that all automobiles kept by students be sent home, as the last examinations showed that students having cars failed in their subjects. When the president of a great university raises such a warning cry he certainly feels the undertow of waste.

The second counter current in this backward wash is the force of ease. Do you see that young scion flitting back and forth before your door all day long in his father's twin six? Who is he? He is mother's "Sweet William." You go to the back door and there is another specimen asking for a handout. Who is that? That is "Weary Willie"—but both are "Bills," and they are twins, differing only in their mode of travel. Both are parasites, deadbeats, sucking their sustenance from somebody else, taking the pathway of ease instead of toil.

A third undertow is the backwash of abnormal ambition. Foolish mothers take their daughters out of a good local high school in which they were doing good hard work in algebra and science and send them away to a girl's finishing school where they take a little French and a little painting and a little music

and a good deal of dancing and lo! they come back "finished." But they were finished green. Wood has to be seasoned before it will take on polish—you can't polish it green, and it takes time for genuine culture—it must be bone deep. What you rub on is cheap stuff.

The fourth undertow is the sweeping current of lawlessness. Since 1918 the private gunmen of America have killed more American citizens than we lost on the field of battle during the World War. We pass an amendment to the American Constitution, the fundamental law of our land, and then make a vaudeville joke out of it. Children must be taught respect for law and constituted authority.

And last I call attention to the undertow of class bitterness. Too many parents are early injecting this poison of bitterness into the hearts of their children. They tell their children: "You can't be anything. There's no chance for one in our class." This lie is the deadly backwash of class consciousness and I protest against it with all my soul. The history of practically every great man in this country today gives the lie to those who through class bitterness would stifle the aspirations and poison the hopes of our young citizens.

About a century ago there lived in a cabin home in southern Indiana a lad who said, "I will study and get ready and some day my chance will come." And now a grateful people have encased that cabin home in granite that it may never crumble.

I was walking one day in a beautiful park of the second city of America when I suddenly stopped before a statue of heroic size, and lo, it was a statue to the man who as a lad in a southern Indiana cabin had said, "I will study and get ready and some day my chance will come."

Later I stood on the steps of our national capitol and in the distance across the mirroring lagoon I saw a beautiful palace of marble with rows of Grecian columns. Within the majestic silence of that stately chamber sat the heroic statue of the man

who, when a Hoosier lad, had said, "I will study and get ready and some day my chance will come."

His chance did come. And such a chance will come to any American boy or girl who deserves the chance—the boy or girl who can profit by the *uplift* and escape the *undertow*.

INCENTIVES TO PATRIOTISM

David J. Burrill

THE two best preachers on Manhattan Island today are two men who stand in bronze by the roadside; one of them on the west side drive, in the Park, a man in his regimentals, who was placed there to commemorate the valor of the Seventh Regiment. On the pedestal of the monument is inscribed his sermon on patriotism. It reads: "For the Glory of my Country!"

The other is down at the other end of the Island—Nathan Hale! Standing on the busiest street in all the world; at the very heart of the motion of this great metropolis, the young school-master and patriot, with his hands bound behind him; ready to go out to Rutgers orchard to be hung! And there in the presence of the passing millions he is preaching as no clergyman or politician can preach with living lips, those last words of his, "I regret in dying that I have but one life to offer for my country."

I tell you, young men, back of all the good advice that will be given you, there is nothing like this: Love the Republic! Believe in the principles that underlie it! Get centered there and you will never be bothered about your duty as a citizen.

I have heard the Scotch people sing "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled"; I have heard the Germans sing "Die Wacht am Rhein" in their country; and I have myself sung with the Irish:

I met with Napper Tandy and he took me by the hand,
He said, "How is old Ireland and how does she stand?"
"She's the most distressful country that ever you have seen,
They're hanging men and women for the wearing of the green."

I have heard the English in Hyde Park sing "God Save the King!" But in all the music that I have ever heard in the glory of national life, I have never heard an anthem that stirs my blood like:

My country, 'tis of thee!
Sweet land of Liberty,
Of thee I sing!
Long may our land be bright
With Freedom's holy light;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King!

And the symbol of such protection is:

Your flag and my flag, and oh, how much it holds!
Your land and my land, secure within its folds;
Your heart and my heart beat quicker at the sight,
Sun kissed and wind tossed, the red and blue and white;
The one flag—the great flag—the flag for me and you,
Glorifies all else beside, the red and white and blue!

THE NATIONAL FLAG

ADAPTED

I HAVE seen the glories of art and architecture, and mountain and river; I have seen the sunset on Jungfrau, and the full moon rise over Mount Blanc; but the fairest vision on which these eyes ever looked was the flag of my country in a foreign land. Beautiful as a flower to those who love it, terrible as a meteor to those who hate it, it is the symbol of the power and glory and the honor of one hundred million Americans.

A thoughtful mind, when it sees a nation's flag, sees not the flag, but the nation itself. When the French tricolor rolls out to the wind, we see France. When the new-found Italian flag is unfurled, we see unified Italy. When the united crosses of St. Andrew and St. George, on a fiery ground, set forth the banner of old England, we see not the cloth merely; there rises up before the mind the idea of the majesty and greatness of the British Empire.

If one asks me the meaning of our flag, I say to him: It means just what Concord and Lexington meant, what Bunker Hill meant. It means the whole glorious Revolutionary War. It means all that the Constitution of our people, organizing for justice, for liberty, and for happiness, meant. Its stripes of alternate red and white proclaim the original union of thirteen states to maintain the Declaration of Independence. Its stars, white on a field of blue, proclaim that union of states constituting our national constellation. The two together signify union, past and present. The very colors have a language which was officially recognized by our fathers. White is for purity; red, for valor; blue, for justice; and all together—bunting, stripes, stars, and colors, blazing in the sky—make the flag of our country, to be cherished by all our hearts, to be upheld by all our hands.

Under this banner rode Washington and his armies. Before it Burgoyne laid down his arms. It waved on the highlands at West Point. It streamed in light over the soldiers' heads at Valley Forge and at Morristown. It crossed the waters rolling with ice at Trenton, and when its stars gleamed in the cold morning with victory, a new day of hope dawned on the despondency of this nation.

I like to think of our soldiers and sailors as defenders of the flag, and I like to think of the flag as our defender from foes within or foes without. During the Cuban revolution of '73, an American citizen was imprisoned, and by a Spanish court-martial sentenced to be shot as a spy. The American consul at Havana asked for a suspension of the sentence pending an investigation. This request was peremptorily refused, and preparations for the execution of the court-martial's finding were hurriedly made. The prisoner was led forth, and a company of Spanish soldiers stood ready, at the word of command, to execute the death warrant. At this critical moment appeared the American consul. He stepped quickly forward and wound about the body of the prisoner an American flag. He then turned to the officer in command of the firing squad and said: "Now give the order to shoot if you dare!" The silence of the Spanish guns was the only reply.

And so in any foreign country, if our flag in very truth be the emblem of national honor and international fair-dealing, then may the American citizen ever rest secure beneath its protecting folds in conscious assurance that "thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just."

EMERSON HOUGH, AMERICAN

Editorial from the Saturday Evening Post

IT IS well within the truth to declare that Mr. Hough's dominant passion was love of his native land, her history, her institutions, and all that goes to make up what we call America. Good citizenship is no rare virtue among us; but his was of a peculiar order, for his patriotism began where that of common men leaves off. There was something wondrously close and intense in his personal relationship to his country. Those who knew him best say that his vision and his capacity for feeling were such that to him America was a great, all-embracing personage, as it were, a benign goddess, or a kind and glorious mother whom as a faithful son he served with instant loyalty. Equally as her son, he had his part and share in her estate to enjoy, to conserve, to increase and to pass on unimpaired. All her pride of clean blood, daring deeds, great memories and fine tradition was his. Her rocks and rills, her woods and templed hills engaged his mind not as mere literary allusions, but as real and tangible items of the estate of which he was alike an heir and an administrator.

Mr. Hough reasoned that to know America is to love her, and with the zeal of an evangel he embraced every opportunity to persuade Americans to get acquainted with their own country. Boundless was his contempt for those who rave over the charms of Europe without having first seen their own land. More than once we have heard him whimsically observe:

"You know they have named a lake after me. It is five times as large as Loch Lomond and ten times as lovely; but this summer ten Americans will cross the Atlantic to see Loch Lomond for every one that visits Lake Hough!"

He believed that what America needs is advertising to her own people, and that simple idea was the impelling motive that under-

lies more than half his novels and stories. It was part and parcel of his intent to unfold for Americans their own past, that they may keep themselves up to the standards and qualities and ideals that their forebears set for them. We can name no living author who is quite so well qualified to do this as he was.

The transition of our immigration from what was mainly North European previous to 1880 to what afterward became largely Central and East European filled Mr. Hough with apprehensive forebodings, and he was among the first to detect the menace that we are only just now tardily striving to ward off and guard against. Again, as an heir of our past he lifted up his voice in protest against unrestricted immigration, and again he made himself heard in the land and in Congress.

Though a man of wide reading, Mr. Hough could not find in all the clutter of centuries any history so fascinating, so inspiring or so full of color and romance as our own. Even his private conversation would drift into the past and light up with vivid references to the bold spirits of the Revolution, the hardihood of the early settlers, the exploits of the old trail makers, the daring of the Indian fighters, the hardships of the Oregon Trail or the roistering, hair-trigger life of the frontier. Waking, he wrote and talked about America; sleeping, he dreamed of her.

The personality of a gallant gentleman will keep green the memory of Emerson Hough in the hearts of his friends; and certain crags and buttes and peaks will be his monuments, more lasting than those that are built by men.

THE LAND WHERE HATRED EXPIRES

ALBERT LEON GUERARD

Professor Guerard, a member of the faculty of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, is a native of France. In an address to a high school graduating class he spoke in part as follows.

NEVER shall I forget a stormy autumn crossing on the old French liner, *La Touraine*, nearly nine years ago. It was my first voyage to America. A magnetic influence drew me to the forward part of the ship and there, lashed by the sharp salt wind, I would spend long hours, peering into the cold and pale horizon towards that mysterious western land which was to become my country. Twenty feet below, on the main deck, there swarmed and seethed a crowd of steerage passengers, unkempt, sordid, cheerful; they, too, were straining their eyes, although they knew that naught was to be seen for several days, towards the lure of the setting sun. A full shipload of human freight, but all illumined by an unconquerable hope: America! America, the land of promise, the land of freedom, the land of opportunity; America! A new heaven and a new earth.

A motley crowd were we, cabin passengers and steerage alike, on the good ship *La Touraine;* and by this time we are Americans, one and all. We have given up our native speech; the picturesque garb of ancient villages has been discarded; titles and dynastic allegiance have been left, as undesirable, at the gateway of Ellis Island, and our very habits of thought have undergone a radical change. But do you believe that we have dropped like a burden all the immemorial traditions of our home lands? We have not, and it would be a thousand pities if we had. For the primal glory of the American spirit is that it is a blend of all that Europe has to offer. A blend, not a Mosaic. I recognize no sub-nationalities under the Stars and Stripes. I hate the look and

the sound of such words as French-American, English-American, German-American. But I have no respect and no sympathy for the man who turns in anger and in derision against the land of his birth. It is only good Frenchmen, good Germans, good Russians, that will make good Americans. Let us pool our ancestors, let us all be heirs to all! The greatest privilege of American citizenship is just that blending of traditions. I feel now as if my two grandfathers had bravely fought against each other at Gettysburg; I know it was partly for me that Washington displayed his quiet heroism and his serene wisdom.

But that is not all. I feel as though the whole glorious past of England were mine, as it is yours. England, dear old England, that has given us her speech, the unrivaled treasure of her literature, her indomitable spirit of adventure, her sound practical sense, and her deep-seated belief in our responsibility before a Power not of this world. Your English heritage is now mine; a priceless possession. But remember, too, that all Americans are French to a certain degree. Have you not received from France, and preserved to this day, a hatred for caste and privilege, a love for logic and simplicity, a healthy radicalism of mind, a generous faith in human nature, which bids us look forward and not back?

And I do not want you to forget that we Americans are all the sons of Germany too, even those of us in whose veins there flows not one drop of Teutonic blood. Our ten million fellow-citizens of German extraction have colored the whole American soul. They have brought with them the old German qualities of steady labor, cleanliness, thrift, the love of home, and the fear of God.

And I want to love and respect Italy! twice the mistress of the world. Italy! oldest and youngest of great nations, still, as of old, the breeding-ground and the Mecca of innumerable artists. I want to seek and love the vast, vague, and mighty spirit of Holy Russia, the land of sorrow, whence came such

words of peace and love, through the lips of Tolstoy, as the world had not heard for many hundred years. America is heir to all the world. Do not cut off any part of what is rightfully yours. Do not fear lest this Pantheon of many national ideals turn into a Pandemonium—for the American spirit is large enough to harmonize them all.

For this is indeed "the land where hate expires," the land of universal reconciliation. This is the land where Englishmen, Frenchmen, Austrians, Russians, Germans, can meet on a common ground of democracy, justice, and good fellowship; where they have at last a chance of becoming acquainted with one another, and, knowing one another, to appreciate and love. For hatred is but the child of ignorance; there is something in the American atmosphere which is deadly to hatred. Just as the veterans of Gettysburg can be friends, so only perhaps under the Stars and Stripes will men who fought on opposite sides at Liège, the Marne, or Tannenberg, be able to shake hands as men and brothers. Oh! what a blessing it is to live in this land which bears malice to none, this land which recognizes no hereditary foes but sin, ignorance, and disease, this land where hate expires!

EULOGY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Henry Ward Beecher

No words of the famous Henry Ward Beecher were more eloquent than those he pronounced on "The Effect of the Death of Lincoln." The following is an extract of the speech.

YOU and I can comfort, but how can I speak to that twilight million to whom his name was as the name of an angel of God? There will be wailing in places which no minister shall be able to reach. When, in hovel and in cot, in wood and in wilderness, in the field throughout the South the dusky children, who looked upon him as that Moses whom God sent before them to lead them out of the land of bondage, learn that he has fallen, who shall comfort them? O thou Shepherd of Israel, that didst comfort thy people of old, to thy care we commit the helpless, the long-wronged and grieved.

And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and states are his pallbearers, and the cannon beats the hours with solemn progression. Dead, dead, dead, he yet speaketh. Is Washington dead? Is Hampton dead? Is David dead? Is any man that ever was fit to live dead? Disenthralled of flesh and risen in the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life now is grafted upon the infinite, and will be fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome. Your sorrows, O people, are his peace. Your bells and bands and muffled drums sound triumph in his ear. Wail and weep here; God made it echo joy and triumph there. Pass on.

Four years ago, O Illinois, we took from your midst an untried man and from among the people. We return him to you a mighty conqueror. Not thine any more, but the nation's; not ours,

came here to a new land, to build their homes in the wilderness and the woods. Watch the colonists as they grow, as they fight the wilderness and the savage; as they cross unknown mountains and traverse unnamed streams; until here, in a new land, away from the pomp and caste and ceremony of the ancient world, here in the new land, beneath new clear skies, out of their toil, out of their sacrifice, out of their service, there was born a new freedom—the "American Ideal," the ideal expressed in the immortal Declaration of Independence.

Would you know your heritage? Then remember the romance of the building of the Republic, the march of civilization from the waves of one ocean down to the lapping waves of another; the pioneers and frontiersmen as they threw themselves beyond the walls of the Appalachians, led by the moccasined feet of Boone, Kenton, Logan, and Whitley into the wilderness of Kentucky. Walk on that march which immortalized endurance, with George Rogers Clark, from the shores of the Ohio, through Kaskaskia, and on to old Vincennes, where they added the northwest to the diadem of the Republic. Traverse with Lewis and Clarke beyond the Great Divide, led by the beckoning hand of an Indian girl, to the mouth of the great river that another empire might be held within the boundaries of your heritage.

So hath come our heritage, from the hands of the deathless dead, from all who have wrought, toiled, sacrificed, and suffered, from those who have builded and bridged the streams, and tunnelled the mountains; from the sowers and harvesters, the toilers, the thinkers, and the dreamers.

How shall we pay our debt? Pay it in honor, so that the dead may sleep in honor. Pay it by new consecration to our land, to our flag. Pay it by the service of head and heart and hand. Pay it by the determination that no power within and no power without shall destroy the fabric of our government, or tear down the pillars of our nation's ancient blood-bought liberties. Pay it by a new consecration, by a deeper love, by a greater service.

HAPPINESS AND LIBERTY

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

This selection, with its many word-pictures, has long been a favorite for declaiming. For effective oral expression, you will need to visualize the pictures presented as you describe them to your hearers.

IT IS not necessary to be rich in order to be happy. The laugh of a child will brighten the gloom of the darkest day. Strike with the hand of fire, O weird musician, upon the harpstring with Apollo's golden hair. Fill the vast cathedral aisles with symphonies sweet and dim. Blow, bugles, blow until your silvery notes do touch and kiss the moonlit waves and charm the lovers wandering 'neath the vine-clad hills; but know that your sweetest strains are but discords all compared with childhood's happy laugh. Oh, rippling river of laughter, thou art the blessed boundary line between man and beast, and each wayward wave of thine doth catch and drown some fitful fiend of care!

Do not tell me you have got to be rich. We have a false standard of these things in the United States. We think that a man must be great, that he must be famous, that he must be wealthy. That is all a mistake. It is not necessary to be rich, to be great, to be famous, to be powerful, in order to be happy. The happy man is the free man. Happiness is the legal tender of the soul. Joy is wealth. Liberty is joy.

A little while ago I stood by the grave of the old Napoleon—a magnificent tomb of gilt and gold, fit almost for a dead deity—and gazed upon the sarcophagus of black Egyptian marble, where rest at last the ashes of that restless man. I leaned over the balustrade and thought about the career of the greatest soldier of the modern world.

I saw him walking upon the banks of the Seine, contemplating

suicide. I saw him at Toulon—I saw him putting down the mob in the streets of Paris—I saw him at the head of the army of Italy—I saw him crossing the bridge of Lodi with the tricolor in his hand—I saw him in Egypt in the shadow of the pyramids—I saw him conquer the Alps and mingle the eagles of France with the eagles of the crags. I saw him at Marengo—at Ulm and Austerlitz. I saw him in Russia, where the infantry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast scattered his legions like winter's withered leaves. I saw him at Leipsic in defeat and disaster—driven by a million bayonets back upon Paris—clutched like a wild beast—banished to Elba. I saw him escape and retake an empire by the force of his genius. I saw him upon the frightful field of Waterloo, where Chance and Fate combined to wreck the fortunes of their former king. And I saw him at St. Helena, with his hands crossed behind him, gazing out upon the sad and solemn sea.

I thought of all the orphans and widows he had made—of the tears that had been shed for his glory, and of the only woman who ever loved him, pushed from his heart by the ruthless hand of ambition. And I said I would rather have been a French peasant and worn wooden shoes; I would rather have lived in a hut with the vines growing over the door and the grapes growing purple in the kisses of the autumn sun, with my loving wife knitting by my side as the day died out the sky; yes, I would rather have been that man and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust, than to have been that imperial impersonation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great.

No, it is not necessary to be great to be happy. It is not necessary to be rich to be generous. It is not necessary to be powerful to be just. When the world is free, this question will be settled. A new creed will be written. In that creed there will be but one word, "Liberty." O Liberty, float not forever in the far horizon, remain not forever in the dream of the enthusiast, dwell not forever in the song of the poet, but come and

make thy home among the children of men. I know not what thoughts, what discoveries, what inventions may leap from the brain of man; I know not what garments of glory may be woven by the years to come; I cannot dream of the victories to be won upon the field of thought. But I do know that coming from the infinite sea of the future there shall never touch this bank and shoal of time, a richer gift, a rarer blessing, than Liberty.

A PAN-AMERICAN POLICY

ELIHU ROOT

This selection is from a speech delivered in 1906 at the Pan-American Conference at Rio Janeiro, South America. Mr. Root was at that time Secretary of State.

NO NATION can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. There may be leaders and there may be laggards, but no nation can long continue very far in advance of the general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. It is with nations as it is with individual men: intercourse, association, correction of egotism by the influence of others' judgment, broadening of views by the experience and thought of equals, acceptance of the moral standards of a community, the desire for whose good opinion lends a sanction to the rules of right conduct—these are the conditions of growth in civilization. A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and the achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

doubt nor fear. The Puritan principle in its essence is simply individual freedom. From that spring religious liberty and political equality. The free state, the free church, the free school—these are the triple armor of American nationality, of American security. But the Pilgrims, while they have stood above all men for their idea of liberty, have always asserted liberty *under law* and never separated it from law. John Robinson, in the letter that he wrote the Pilgrims when they sailed, said these words, that well, sir, might be written in gold around the cornice of that future banqueting-hall to which you have alluded: "You know that the image of the Lord's dignity and authority which the magistry beareth is honorable in how mean person soever." This is the Puritan principle. Those men stood for liberty *under the law*. They had tossed long upon a wintry sea; their minds were full of images derived from their voyage; they knew that the will of the people alone is but a gale smiting a rudderless and sailless ship, and hurling it, a mass of wreck, upon the rocks. But the will of the people, subject to law, is the same gale filling the trim canvas of a ship that minds the helm, bearing it over yawning and awful abysses of ocean safely to port.

Now, gentlemen, in this country the Puritan principle in its development has advanced to this point, that it provides us a lawful remedy for every emergency that may arise. I stand here as a son of New England. In every fibre of my being am I a child of the Pilgrims. The most knightly of all the gentlemen at Elizabeth's court said to the young poet, when he would write an immortal song, "Look into thy heart and write." And I, sir and brothers, if, looking into my own heart at this moment, I might dare to think that what I find written there is written also upon the heart of my mother, clad in snows at home, her voice in this hour would be a message spoken from the land of the Pilgrims to the capital of this nation—a message like that which Patrick Henry sent from Virginia to Massachusetts when

he heard of Concord and Lexington: "I am not a Virginian, I am an American." And so, gentlemen, at this hour, we are not Republicans, we are not Democrats, we are Americans.

Sons of the Pilgrims, you are not to level forests, you are not to war with savage men and savage beasts, you are not to tame a continent nor even found a state. Our task is nobler, is diviner. Our task, sir, is to reconcile a nation. It is to curb the fury of party spirit. It is to introduce a loftier and manlier tone everywhere into our political life. It is to educate every boy and every girl, and then leave them perfectly free to go from any schoolhouse to any church. Above all, sir, it is to protect absolutely the equal rights of the poorest and the richest, of the most ignorant and the most intelligent citizens, and it is to stand forth, brethren, as a triple wall of brass around our native land, against the mad blows of violence or the fatal dry-rot of fraud. And at this moment, sir, the grave and august shades of the forefathers whom we invoke bend over us in benediction as they call us to this sublime task. This, brothers and friends, this is to imitate the virtues of our forefathers; this is to make our day as glorious as theirs.

INVOCATION

WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD

O THOU whose equal purpose runs
In drops of rain or streams of suns,
And with a soft compulsion rolls
The green earth on her snowy poles;
O Thou who keepest in Thy ken
The times of flowers, the dooms of men,
Stretch out a mighty wing above—
Be tender to the land we love!

If all the huddlers from the storm

Have found her hearthstone wide and warm,
If she has made men free and glad,
Sharing with all the good she had,
If she has blown the very dust
From her bright balance to be just,
Oh, spread a mighty wing above—
Be tender to the land we love!

When in the dark eternal tower
The star-clock strikes her trial hour,
And for her help no more avail
Her sea-blue shield, her mountain mail,
But sweeping wide, from Gulf to Lakes,
The battle on her forehead breaks,
Throw Thou a thunderous wing above—
Be lightning for the land we love!

PUBLIC OPINION

CANON FARRAR

PUBLIC opinion is a grand power. It is a mighty engine for good, if we can array it on our side. He who despises it must be either more or less than man; he must be puffed up with conceit which mars his usefulness or he must be too abject to be reached by scorn. He, therefore, that affects to despise public opinion stands self-condemned. But yet public opinion has many a time been arrayed on the side of wrong, and he who is not afraid to brave it in defense of righteousness, he who, in a cause which he knows to be good, but which his fellow-men do not yet understand, is willing to be ranked among idiots and fools, he is a partaker with all those who, through faith and patience, have inherited the promises.

It was thus—it was for the cause of scientific truth—that Roger Bacon bore his long imprisonment, and Galileo sat contented in his cell. It was thus—it was for the cause of religious truth—that Martin Luther stood undaunted before kings. It was thus that, to wake the base slumbers of a greedy age, Wesley and Whitefield were content to

> "Stand pilloried on Infamy's high stage,
> And hear the pelting scorn of half an age."

It was thus that Wilberforce faced in Parliament the sneers and rage of wealthy slave-owners. It was thus, "in the teeth of clinched antagonisms," that education was established, that missions were founded, that the cause of religious liberty was won.

The persecuted object of today is the saint and exemplar of tomorrow. St. John enters the thronged streets of the capital of Asia as a despised Galilean and an unnoticed exile, but when

generations have passed away it is still his name which clings to its indistinguishable ruins. St. Paul stands in his ragged gaberdine, too mean for Gallio's supreme contempt, but today the cathedral dedicated to his honor towers over the vast imperial city where the name of Gallio is not much heard. Says a great orator, "Count me over the chosen heroes of this earth, and I will show you the men who stood alone, while those for whom they toiled and agonized poured on them contumely and scorn." They were glorious iconoclasts sent out to break down the Dagons worshiped by their fathers. The very martyrs of yesterday who were hooted at, whom the mob reviled and expatriated—today the children of the very generation who mobbed and reviled them are gathering up their scattered ashes to deposit in the golden urn of their nation's history.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

William J. Bryan

This is the concluding portion of a lecture delivered many times during the years 1915 and 1916. It is largely an appeal, and requires strong feeling and force in the delivery.

SOME nation must lift the world out of the black night of war into the light of that day when an enduring peace can be built on love and brotherhood, and I crave that honor for this nation. More glorious than any page of history that has yet been written will be the page that records our claim to the promise made to the peacemakers.

This is the day for which the ages have been waiting. For nineteen hundred years the gospel of the Prince of Peace has been making its majestic march around the world, and during these centuries the philosophy of the Sermon on the Mount has become more and more the rule of daily life. It only remains to lift that

code of morals from the level of the individual and make it real in the law of nations, and ours is the nation best prepared to set the example. We are less hampered by precedent than other nations and therefore more free to act. I appreciate the value of precedent—what higher tribute can I pay it than to say that it is as universal as the law of gravitation and as necessary to stability? And yet the law of gravitation controls only inanimate nature—everything that lives is in constant combat with the law of gravitation. The tiniest insect that creeps upon the ground wins a victory over it every time it moves. Even the slender blade of grass sings a song of triumph over the universal law as it lifts itself up toward the sun. So every step in human progress breaks the law of precedent. Precedent lives in the past—it relies on memory; because a thing never was, precedent declares that it can never be. Progress walks by faith and dares to try the things that ought to be.

This, too, is the leading Christian nation. We give more money every year to carry the gospel to those who live under other flags than any other nation now living or that has lived.

These two reasons, then—our unique position among the nations and our espousal of Christian standards for nations as well as for individuals—combine to fix the eyes of the world upon us as the one nation which is at liberty to lead the way from the blood-stained methods of the past out into the larger and better day. We must not disappoint the hopes which our ideals and achievements have excited. If I know the heart of the American people, they are not willing that this supreme opportunity shall pass by unimproved.

"FROM MANY, ONE"

Katherine Atherton Grimes

AMERICA, my country,
None hath a nobler place;
Now for thy crown of high renown,
God send on thee His grace.
Across the roads of heaven
He sets thy starry sign;
Fear not, nor fail to seek the Grail,
For He will make it thine.

The patient East hath sought thee,
The bold and gallant West;
A hundred nations' valiant hearts
Are fused within thy breast;
And many a hero's glory
From many a golden age,
Their faith lays down before thy feet
To build thy heritage.

America, my country,
God guide thy buoyant youth,
And teach thy fleet and eager feet
The daring path of Truth;
America, the fearless,
America, the free,
Lest thou forget thy greater debt,
May God remember thee!

GLOSSARY

For your convenience, the more difficult words in this book are listed in this glossary. The pronunciation (indicated in parentheses) follows the system used in *Webster's International Dictionary.* The definitions in this glossary refer primarily to the sense in which the words are used in this book. For other meanings and for words not given here, you will of course consult a larger dictionary—for by this time you have doubtless learned to follow the excellent direction, *"Get the dictionary habit."*

abashed (ă-băsht′) confused; put to shame

abhorrent (ăb-hŏr′ent) detestable

abjure (ăb-jo͝or′) to cast off; to abandon

abortive (ă-bôr′tĭv) fruitless; unsuccessful

accost (ă-kôst′) to address or greet

actuality (ăk-tū-ăl′ĭ-tĭ) reality

agile (ăj′ĭl) active; nimble

Aisne (Ân) a river in northern France

allay (ă-lā′) to pacify

allegory (ăl′lē-gō-rĭ) a description of one thing under the image of another

Aloha (ä-lō′hä)

altruism (ăl′tro͞o-ĭz′m) regard for the interests of others

amalgamated (ă-măl′gă-māt-ĕd) combined

amphibian (ăm-fĭb′ĭ-ăn) a thing or animal capable of operating or swimming both on land and in the water

ampler (ăm′plēr) more widely extended or more liberal

annul (ăn-nŭl′) to do away with

antiquated (ăn′tĭ-quā-tĕd) out of date; old-fashioned

arduous (är′dū-ŭs) difficult

articulated (är-tĭk′ū-lāt-ĕd) joined together

artifice (är′tĭ-fĭs) crafty device

artisan (är′tĭ-zăn) a mechanic

asset (ăs′sĕt) wealth; resource

authentic (ą-thĕn′tĭk) trustworthy

autocrat (ô′tō-krăt) a monarch ruling by claim of absolute right

avaunt (ă-vąnt′ or ă-vänt′) begone

babble (băb″l) chatter; gossip

badger (băj′ēr) to worry or irritate persistently

balustrade (băl-ŭs-trād′) a row of short columns, topped by a rail, along the edge of a balcony, bridge, etc.

Bastile (bås-tēl′) Day, a French national holiday, commemorating the storming and destruction of a despotic prison on July 14, 1789

Belleau (bĕl-lō′) Wood, in France, was made notable in the World War by protracted fighting for

its possession between American and German forces

belligerent (bĕ-lĭj′ĕr-ĕnt) warlike

beneficence (bĕ-nĕf′ĭ-sĕns) the practice of doing good

benign (bē-nīn′) kindly; gracious

benignity (bĕ-nĭg′nĭ-tĭ) kindness

Blondin (blŏn-dăn′), Charles, a French acrobat who crossed the Niagara River on a tight rope in 1855, 1859, and 1860

boll weevil (bōl′ wē-vĭl) a grayish worm that infects the cotton plant

Bourget (bo͞or-zhĕ′) a lake in France

brogans (brō′gănz) stout, coarse shoes

browbeat (brou′bēt) to bully

Burgesses (bûr′jĕs-ĕs) House of the colonial representative assembly of Virginia

caliber (kăl′ĭ-bēr) quality; capacity

candor (kăn′dēr) freedom from prejudice; frankness

caravel (kăr′ȧ-vĕl) a small vessel with broad bows and three or four masts

caryatides (kăr-ĭ-ăt′ĭ-dēz) priestesses in the temple of Diana at Caryae

catechising (kăt′ĕ-kīz-ĭng) questioning systematically

catechism (kăt′ĕ-kĭz′m) instruction by means of questions and answers, especially in teaching religious doctrines

caucus (kô′kŭs) a meeting of leaders of a party or faction

cauldron (kôl′drôn) a large kettle or boiler for heating liquids

celebrity (sĕ-lĕb′rĭ-tĭ) a person of distinction or renown

Celts (sĕltz or kĕlts) a race coming from central and western Europe that is supposed to have once overrun Great Britain. The Irish are survivors of the racial type.

Chamery (shȯn′ēr-ĭ) a village in France

charlatan (shär′lȧ-tăn) a braggart or impostor

Chemin des Dames (shē-măn′ dā-dȧm) a highway in France

circumnavigate (sûr-kŭm-năv′ĭ-gāt) to sail around

clamor (klăm′ēr) outcry; loud and continued noise

claptrap (klăp′trăp) a trick or device to gain applause

clarion (klăr′ĭ-ŭn) clear, ringing tones

cockpit (kŏk′pĭt) the space used by the pilot of an airplane

commoner (kŏm′mŭn-ēr) one of the common people

communion (kŏm-mūn′yŭn) act of sharing

communique (kôm-mū-nēēk′) a French word meaning an official communication

compact (kŏm′păkt) a covenant or contract

comprehensive (kŏm-prē-hĕn′sĭv) including many things

concerted (kŏn-sĕrt′ĕd) acting together

concurrence (kŏn-kŭr′ĕns) agreement; coöperation

confiscation (kŏn-fĭs-kā′shŭn) seizure

conformity (kŏn-fôr′mĭ-tĭ) harmony; agreement

confounded (kŏn-found′ĕd) perplexed; defeated
conserved (kŏn-sûrvd′) preserved
constituent (kŏn-stĭt′ū-ĕnt) any citizen or resident of a district that is represented
consummation (kŏn-sŭ-mā′shŭn) completion
contingent (kŏn-tĭn′jĕnt) subject to unforeseen conditions
contumely (kŏn′tū-mē-lĭ) scornful insolence
coronet (kŏr-ō-nĕt′) a crownlike honorary headdress
crotchet (krŏch′ĕt) an odd notion or whim
curriculum (kŭr-rĭk′ū-lŭm) a specified course of study

Dagon (dā′gŏn) a god of the Philistines
darkling (därk′lĭng) gloomy
deadlocked (dĕd′lŏkt) brought to a standstill
debris (dā-brē′) scattered remains; rubbish
deliberate (dē-lĭb′ĕr-āt) to consider carefully and to move cautiously
delinquent (dē-lĭn′kwĕnt) failing in duty
depository (dē-pŏz′ĭ-tō-rĭ) a place where anything is deposited for safe-keeping or sale
deprecated (dĕp′rē-kāt-ĕd) disapproved
derision (dē-rĭzh′ŭn) scorn; insult
desecrate (dĕs′ē-krāt) to violate or profane
direful (dīr′fo͝ol) dreadful
discordant (dĭs-kôr′dănt) quarrelsome
dispassionate (dĭs-păsh′ŭn-āt) calm; composed
dissent (dĭs-sĕnt′) disagrée
dissolution (dĭs-ō-lū′shŭn) state of being dissolved or broken up
dogmas (dŏg′más) opinions; doctrines
donor (dō′nŏr) a giver
dowered (dou′ĕr′d) supplied with property through marriage; endowed
dudgeon (dŭj′ŭn) ill humor; resentment

effigy (ĕf′ĭ-jĭ) an image of a person
elucidate (ē-lū′sĭ-dāt) to make clear
emanate (ĕm′ă-nāt) to flow or proceed
Embassy (ĕm′băs-sĭ) the residence or office of an ambassador and his suite
embellished (ĕm-bĕl′lish′d) beautified; decorated
emblazoned (ĕm-blā′z′n′d) brightly pictured
embodied (ĕm-bŏd′ēd) gave a body to a spirit
emerge (ē-mērj′) to come into view
emulate (ĕm′ū-lāt) to imitate, with a view to equal or outdo
encroachment (ĕn-krōch′mĕnt) unlawful intrusion
endowed (ĕn-doud′) enriched or furnished with anything of the nature of a gift
enshrined (ĕn-shrīnd′) preserved and cherished as something sacred
environment (en-vī′rŏn-mĕnt) surroundings
equivocation (ē-quĭv-ō-kā′shŭn) the use of expressions having a double meaning

espousal (ĕs-pouz′ăl) a making one's own
espouse (ĕs-pouz′) to adopt and support
evasion (ē-vā′zhŭn) an eluding or deceiving
evolution (ĕv-ō-lū′shŭn) development
excommunication (ĕx-kŏm-mū-nĭ-kā shŭn) a censure whereby one is cast out of the communion of the church
exemplar (ĕg-zĕm′plăr) an ideal model
exhorted (ĕg-zôrt′ĕd) advised
exigencies (ĕk′sĭ-jĕn-sĭz) emergencies
exploit (ĕks-ploit′) to get the value or usefulness out of
exploitation (ĕks-ploi-tā′shŭn) selfish or unfair utilization
exponent (ĕks-pō′nĕnt) a representative
exuberance (ĕgs-ū′bēr-ăns) abundance; overflow

fabric (făb′rĭk) framework or structure
fealty (fē′ăl-tĭ) faithfulness
felicity (fē-lĭs′ĭ-tĭ) happiness
fervid (fĕr′vĭd) ardent; with intense feeling
filial (fĭl′yăl) pertaining to a son or daughter
forbears or forebears (fôr′bârz) forefathers
fortuitous (fôr-tū′ĭ-tŭs) by chance
forum (fō′rŭm) a place where public meetings are held
freeman (frē′măn) in early English history, a freeman was one having a share in the land and government of the village community
fresco-work (frĕs′kŏ) painting on a wall covering
function (fŭnk′shŭn) to work as intended; (noun) formal meeting or ceremony

gavel (găv′ĕl) the mallet of the presiding officer
guerdon (gŭr′dŭn) a reward
guillotine (gĭl′lŏ-tēn) a machine for beheading a person with one stroke of a heavy ax or blade

hana (hä′nä)
haole (hä-ō′lā)
heiau (hā-ä′o͞o) a place of worship
Heptarchy (hĕp′tär-kĭ) a government by seven persons
hierarchy (hī′ĕr-är-kĭ) a government by church authorities
homage (hŏm′ăj) respect paid by external action
Hoosier (ho͞o′zhēr) an inhabitant of Indiana
Huguenot (hū′gē-nŏt) a French Protestant in the 16th and 17th centuries
hula (ho͞o′lä) refers to skirts worn when chanting or dancing

ibis (ī′bĭs) a wading bird about two feet long; the sacred ibis, common in the Nile basin, was venerated by the ancient Egyptians
iconoclast (i-kŏn′ŏ-klăst) one who attacks cherished beliefs as shams

idiomatic (ĭd-ĭ-ō-măt′ĭk) peculiar to a certain group or locality, especially in regard to language
illiteracy (ĭ-lĭt′ēr-ā-sĭ) inability to read and write
impotent (ĭm′pō-tĕnt) weak
impregnable (ĭm-prĕg′nā-b'l) unconquerable
imu (ē′mōō) an underground oven
inadequate (ĭn-ăd′ē-quāt) not sufficient
inauspicious (ĭn-ôs-pĭsh′ŭs) unfavorable
incorrigible (ĭn-kŏr′rĭ-jĭ-b'l) unmanageable
incredulous (ĭn-krĕd′ū-lŭs) unbelieving
indelible (ĭn-dĕl′ĭ-b'l) incapable of being cancelled or removed
indomitable (ĭn-dŏm′ĭ-tā-b'l) not to be subdued
ineffable (ĭn-ĕf′fā-b'l) inexpressible
ineptness (ĭn-ĕpt′nĕs) unbecomingness
inevitably (ĭn-ĕv′ĭ-tā-blĭ) unavoidably
infallibility (ĭn-făl-ĭ-bĭl′ĭ-tĭ) quality or state of never being in error
ingratiate (ĭn-grā′shĭ-āt) to bring into favor
initial (ĭn-ĭsh′ăl) the beginning
inscrutable (ĭn-skrōō′tā-b'l) mysterious
insurgents (ĭn-sûr′jĕnts) persons rising in revolt against an established government
integrity (ĭn-tĕg′rĭ-tĭ) honesty
intercourse (ĭn′tēr-kōrs) communication
intrepid (ĭn-trĕp′ĭd) dauntless; heroic
inundated (ĭn′ŭn-dāt-ĕd) flooded
inviolable (ĭn-vī′ō-lā-b'l) sacred
inviolate (ĭn-vī′ō-lāt) not to be injured; unhurt
irradiate (ĭr-rā′dĭ-āt) to make light or bright
irreparable (ĭ-rĕp′ā-rā-b'l) not capable of being repaired or recovered
isolation (ī-sō-lā′shŭn) act or state of being alone; loneliness

jeopardy (jĕp′ărd-ĭ) danger
Jungfrau (yōōng′frou) a mountain in the Swiss Alps
jurisdiction (jōō-rĭs-dĭk′shŭn) sphere of authority; power or right to exercise authority

kahili (kä-hē′lē) a large feather ornament
Kalihikai (kä-lē-hē-kī′ē)
kapu (kä′pōō)
knout (nout or nōōt) a kind of whip for flogging prisoners, formerly much used in Russia

lanai (lä-nä-ē)
leis (lās)
Leonidas (lē-ŏn′ĭ-dăs) heroic king of Sparta
Leyden (lī′dĕn) a city in south Holland
libelous (lī′bĕl-ŭs) including or involving a statement that conveys an unjustly unfavorable impression
loathsome (lōth′sŭm) disgusting

maelstrom (māl′strŏm) a destructive or wide-reaching harmful influence
majestic (mā-jĕst′ĭk) sublime; grand

malcontent (măl′kŏn-tĕnt) a political agitator
mammoth (măm′môth) very large; gigantic
manor (măn′ẽr) the house or hall of an estate
Marne (märn) a river in France
Martel (mär-tĕl′) Charles, the famous duke of Austrasia, who defeated the Saracens near Tours, France, in 732
Massasoit (măs′ȧ-soit) a famous Indian chief
mecca (mĕk′ȧ) a place esteemed as the goal of a pilgrimage
menace (mĕn′ȧs) threat
merged (mûrj′d) absorbed
meritorious (mĕr-ĭ-tō′rĭ-ŭs) well-deserving
metropolis (mẽ-trŏp′ō-lĭs) the chief or capital city of a country or state
militant (mĭl′ĭ-tănt) fighting; aggressive
momentous (mō-mĕn′tŭs) very important
monoplane (mŏn′ō-plān) an airplane having a single sustaining surface or plane
moot (mo͞ot) a meeting for discussion or deliberation; the place where such a meeting is held
motley (mŏt′lĭ) consisting of different colors
mural (mū′răl) of or pertaining to a wall

naturalization (năt-ûr-ăl-ĭ-zā′shŭn) the process of being adopted into a country and placed in the condition of a native
noblesse oblige (nō-blĕs′ ō-blēzh′) a French phrase meaning nobility obliges

oyez (ō-yĕs′) hear; attend

pandemonium (păn-dẽ-mō′nĭ-ŭm) a noisy, riotous assemblage
panoply (păn′ō-plĭ) a bright or magnificent covering or environment
Pantheon (păn-thē′ŏn) a temple dedicated to all the gods
paramount (păr′ȧ-mount) superior to all others
parley (pär′lĭ) a preliminary oral discussion
parliamentarian (pär-lĭ-mĕn-tā′rĭ-ăn) one versed in the rules or usages of Parliament
patron (pā′trŭn) one who encourages or helps a person or a cause
peremptory (pẽr-ĕmp′tō-rĭ) decisive; arbitrary
perpetuate (pẽr-pĕt′ū-āt) to cause to endure indefinitely
perpetuity (pẽr-pẽ-tū′ĭ-tĭ) endless time
petulant (pĕt′ū-lănt) irritable
physique (fĭ-zēk′) bodily structure or appearance
pillikia (pĭl-lē′kē-ä)
pivotal (pĭv′ŭt-ăl) pertaining to or constituting a turning point
placard (plăk′ärd) a written or printed notice posted in a public place
plastic (plăs′tĭk) capable of being molded
poi (pō′ē) breadfruit paste
politic (pŏl′ĭ-tĭk) wise, discreet

pontifex (pŏn′tĭ-fĕks) a high priest or a bishop
potent (pō′tĕnt) powerful
potentate (pō′tĕn-tāt) a ruler
preamble (prē′ăm-b'l) an introductory statement of the reason and intent of a law
preëminent (prē-ĕm′ĭ-nĕnt) prominent or superior
preferment (prē-fĕr′mĕnt) a position of honor or respect
premise (prĕm′ĭs) a proposition previously supposed or proved
prerogative (prē-rŏg′ă-tĭv) an exclusive or peculiar privilege
prevision (prē-vĭzh′ŭn) foresight
primacy (prī′mă-sĭ) state of being first in time, place, or rank
privateer (prī-vă-tēr′) an armed vessel licensed to cruise against the enemy
proclivity (prŏ-klĭv′ĭ-tĭ) inclination
proffer (prŏf′fĕr) to offer for acceptance
progeny (prŏj′ĕ-nĭ) descendants; children
project (prŏj′ĕkt) plan or purpose
protocol (prō′tō-kŏl) a preliminary memorandum used as a basis for a final convention or treaty
provocation (prŏv-ō-kā′shŭn) stimulus
purport (pûr′pōrt) meaning
pupuli (pōō-pōō′lē)
pursuance (pŭr-sū′ăns) a following after
pursuant (pŭr-sū′ănt) following

quay (kē) a landing place built at the side of a harbor for loading or unloading vessels
quirt (kwûrt) a riding whip with a short handle and a lash of braided rawhide
quorum (kwō′rŭm) such a number of the officers or members of any body as are legally competent to transact business

redress (rē-drĕs′) a making right; to set right
reeves (rēvz) men responsible, under the feudal system, for maintaining order upon the estate
regalia (rē-gā′lĭ-ă) decorations of an office or order
relinquish (rē-lĭn′kwĭsh) to give up a claim; to abandon
reluctance (rē-lŭk′tăns) holding back; unwillingness
requiem (rē′kwĭ-ĕm) any grand musical service or hymn in honor of the dead
requisite (rĕk′wĭ-zĭt) necessary
resonant (rĕz′ō-nănt) echoing back
retaliated (rē-tăl′ĭ-āt-ĕd) returned like for like
retaliatory (rē-tăl′ĭ-ă-tō-rĭ) tending to return like for like
rostrum (rŏs′trŭm) a stage for public speaking
Rubicon (rōō′bĭ-kŏn) a river in northern Italy across which Caesar led an army, 49 B.C., and precipitated the civil war which made him supreme. Hence, to "cross the Rubicon" is to take the irrevocable step whereby one is committed to a hazardous enterprise
ruse (rōōz) a trick or deceit

sage (sāj) a wise man of mature years
salutary (săl'ū-tā-rĭ) profitable
salvage (săl'vāj) to save something from a wreck
sanctified (săngk'tĭ-fīd) made sacred
scathing (skā'thĭng) damaging, injuring
sarcophagus (sär-kŏf'ā-gŭs) a coffin
scion (sī'ŭn) son, child
scourge (skûrj) a punishment
scrip (skrĭp) a document that entitles the holder to receive something
scroll (skrōl) a writing formed into a roll
segregated (sĕg'rē-gāt-ĕd) set apart
selectmen (sē-lĕkt'mĕn) officers chosen to transact the general public business of a town
serried (sĕr'rēd) crowded; compact
sheet anchor, anything regarded as a sure support or dependence in danger
Sioux (sōō) one of the most important tribes of North American Indians
skeptic (skĕp'tĭk) an unbeliever
slogan (slō'găn) a rallying cry or motto
socialism (sō'shăl-ĭz'm) a plan whereby government controls industry and competition gives way to coöperation
solace (sŏl'ās) comfort in grief
solicitude (sŏ-lĭs'ĭ-tūd) concern; anxiety
sovereignty (sŭv'ĕr-ĭn-tĭ) supreme governing power
sovietism (sō'vĭ-ĕt-ĭz'm) an extreme form of socialism practiced in Russia
splendiferous (splĕn-dĭf'ĕr-ŭs) a humorous use of the word splendid
sponsor (spŏn'sēr) one who becomes responsible for the conduct of another
staid (stād) grave; steady
status (stā'tŭs) state, condition, or position
stocks (stŏks) a frame of timber with holes for the feet, hands, and neck of offenders against the law
stoicism (stō'ĭ-sĭz'm) indifference to pleasure or pain
subjugate (sŭb'jū-gāt) to conquer or subdue
subservient (sŭb-sēr'vĭ-ĕnt) servile
substantiate (sŭb-stăn'shĭ-āt) to prove or verify
subversion (sŭb-vûr'shŭn) utter ruin
succinct (sŭk-sĭnkt') short; concise
super-government, a government over and above a smaller unit of government
supernal (sū-pēr'năl) heavenly
supplicant (sŭp'plĭ-kănt) one who humbly asks a favor
surge (sûrj) a large wave or billow
Suresnes (sü-rân') a manufacturing town in France, west of Paris
surrogate (sŭr'ō-gāt) a deputy or substitute
sustenance (sŭs'tē-năns) that which supports life
suzerainty (sū'zē-rān-tĭ) superior authority or command
syndicated (sĭn'dĭ-kāt-ĕd) combined into a single unit of operation

tapa (tä'pä) paper cloth made from the inner bark of trees

technique (tĕk-nēk′) method of performance in any art
tenet (tĕn′ĕt) principle or belief
tenor (tĕn′ẽr) course; general tendency
Teutoburger Forest (toi′tō-bo͝or-gẽr) a range of wooded hills mostly in Prussia
theocracy (thē-ŏk′rȧ-sĭ) a form of government in which God is recognized as the supreme civil ruler
Thermopylae (thẽr-mŏp′ĭ-lē) a famous pass, in Greece, where a battle was fought in 480 B.C.
thongs (thŏngs) strips of leather
toleration (tŏl-ẽr-ā′shŭn) freedom of thought, especially in religious matters
topography (tŏ-pŏg′rȧ-fĭ) the description of a particular place, town, or tract of land
totality (tō-tăl′ĭ-tĭ) whole sum
Tours (to͞or) a city in France
tourney (to͞or′nĭ) a contest in skill
transfigured (trănss-fĭg′ŭr′d) changed in form or appearance
transmit (trănss-mĭt′) to send or transfer from one person to another
tribunal (trī-bū′năl) a court of justice
trinity (trĭn′ĭ-tĭ) a union of three in one
Tricolor (trī′kŭl-ẽr) the national flag of France
Tyburn (tī′bŭrn) a tributary of the Thames which formerly crossed several of the present parks and streets of London. On the Tyburn was a place of public executions, used until 1783, near what is now Marble Arch in Hyde Park

ultimate (ŭl′tĭ-mȧt) final
unalienable (ŭn-āl′yĕn-ȧ-b′l) that may not be withdrawn
unanimity (ū-nȧ-nĭm′ĭ-tĭ) agreement of all concerned
unpretentious (ŭn-prē-tĕn′shŭs) not given to great outward show
unrequited (ŭn-rẽ-kwīt′ed) unrewarded
untrammeled (ŭn-trăm′ĕld) not bound or shackled
usurpation (ū-zŭr-pā′shŭn) an unauthorized exercise of power, especially as infringing on other's rights

vested (vĕst′ĕd) fixed
vestryman (vĕs′trĭ-măn) one of a body of men who manage the temporal affairs of their church
vicarious (vī-kā′rĭ-ŭs) performed or suffered in the place of another
vista (vĭs′tȧ) a view through or between intervening objects, such as trees
Vive la France (vēv lȧ frȧns) "Long live France!"

Wapentake (wăp′ĕn-tāk) an expression of assent. It had its origin in the old custom of weapon-taking or weapon-touching when a chieftain entered upon his office
Waterloo (wô-tẽr-lo͞o′) a village in Belgium where a famous battle was fought in 1815

Wellington (wĕl′ĭng-tŭn) a famous British general

wiki wiki (wē′kē wē′kē)

Windsor Castle, founded by William the Conqueror, is situated twenty miles west of London. It covers twelve acres on a height overlooking the river Thames, and is surrounded by two parks. The gardens and terraces are very beautiful and the view of the Castle with its many towers is most impressive.

Witenagemot (wĭt′ĕ-nȧ-gĕ-mōt) the assembly or council of the witan

wizard (wĭz′ärd) a wise man; a magician